ASPECTS OF DEATH IN ART

F. PARKES WEBER

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ASPECTS OF DEATH

AND THEIR EFFECTS ON THE LIVING, AS ILLUSTRATED BY MINOR WORKS OF ART, ESPECIALLY MEDALS, ENGRAVED GEMS, JEWELS, &c.

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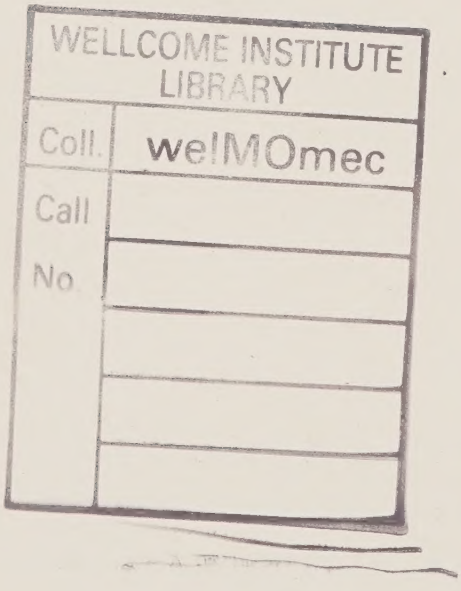
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PREFACE.

THIS little volume consists of a series of articles reprinted, with many alterations and additions, from the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1909-10, Nos. 36-38. It is intended to be an essay, not on the iconography of death, but on the mental attitudes towards the idea of death, and the various ways in which the idea of death has, or may be supposed to have, affected the living individual —his mental and physical state, and especially the direction and force of his action—as illustrated by minor works of art, especially medals, engraved gems, jewels, &c. The book is divided into four parts. The first is meant to serve as an introduction to the whole subject. The second is an arrangement and analysis of the various possible aspects of death and the mental attitudes towards the idea of death, intended to show the headings under which the illustrative works of art may be grouped. The third deals with the medals and coins; and in the fourth the engraved gems, finger-rings, jewels, &c., bearing on the subject, are described. In Part II. (Classification) the arrangement of the various aspects of death is somewhat out of order, owing to the fact that the last paragraphs were added too late to be inserted in their proper places. The repetitions which occur in various parts of the book will, it is hoped, be excused on the ground of convenience for purposes of reference.

I wish to thank and express my great indebtedness to all those who have assisted me, especially Mr. H. A. Grueber, Mr. Warwick Wroth, Mr. G. F. Hill, Mr. J. Allen, Mr. C. H. Read, Mr. R. L. Binyon, and other officials of the British Museum; the late Sir John

Evans, President of the Royal Numismatic Society, Lady Evans, Dr. H. R. Storer, Dr. Oliver Codrington, Dr. Ernest Schuster, Mr. Alfred Schuster, Dr. J. P. zum Busch, Dr. G. Dorner, Mr. W. T. Ready, and Mr. L. Forrer; and, needless to say, the authors of the numerous books and papers to which I have referred.

The study of human aspects of death derives most of its interest from human aspects of life. The aspects of the one are naturally more or less dependent on and modified by the aspects of the other. Death is as necessary as birth for the continuance and progress of the human race, and life cannot even be imagined without death (except, indeed, in regard to the doctrine of the immortality of germ-plasm). A man's ideas on death depend largely on the particular conditions of his own life and his surroundings, whilst his ideas and ideals of life may be considerably modified by his views and hopes regarding the nature of death and the nature of the human soul.

La Rochefoucauld said that man could no more look steadily at death than at the sun. But certainly man may, without harm to himself, see death or ideas on death reflected in works of art. Just so, in the ancient legend, Perseus was able, without being turned into stone, to behold the head of the Gorgon Medusa, reflected in the mirror given to him by Athene; and thus he succeeded in slaying the dreadful monster.

At all events, a study of this kind to some extent increases one's knowledge, and brings with it a certain amount of satisfaction, though neither this nor any other study can quite place one in the position described by Virgil:—

> "Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas;
> Atque metus omnes, et inexorabile fatum
> Subjecit pedibus, strepitumque Acherontis avari!"

November, 1910. F. P. W.

CONTENTS.

PAGE

PREFACE v

PART I.

INTRODUCTION 1

PART II.

ARRANGEMENT 26

I. THE SIMPLE *MEMENTO MORI* IDEA 26

II. DEATH AS THE THRESHOLD OF A FUTURE EXISTENCE. DEATH FROM THE STANDPOINT OF RELIGIOUS FAITH. METEMPSYCHOSIS 28

III. SURVIVAL AFTER DEATH IN THE MINDS OF OTHERS. POSTHUMOUS FAME 34

IV. DEATH AS THE END OF PAIN AND MISERY . . . 35

V. DEATH AS A MEANS OF PUNISHMENT, VENGEANCE, OR ATONEMENT. THE THREAT OF DEATH AS A MEANS OF EXCITING TERROR. POLITICAL MURDERS AND POLITICAL EXECUTIONS 36

VI. DEATH AS AN EMBLEM OF STUBBORN PURPOSE IN WAR 38

VII. DEATH AS AN EMBLEM OF DESTRUCTION AND RUIN . 40

VIII. DEATH AS LEVELLER OF ALL MANKIND . . . 41

IX. SCIENTIFIC ATTITUDE TOWARDS DEATH. THE INVESTIGATION OF ITS CAUSES, &C. 43

X. MEDICAL AND SOCIAL ATTITUDE TOWARDS DEATH. THE PREVENTION OF UNNECESSARY DEATH . . 43

XI. DEATH FOR THE GOOD OF OTHERS, OR FOR THE SAKE OF ORDINARY DUTY OR HONOUR. MARTYRDOM FOR RELIGIOUS, PATRIOTIC, POLITICAL, OR SOCIAL OPINIONS 44

XII. THE "EPICUREAN" ATTITUDE TOWARDS DEATH . . 48

PAGE

XIII. Mindfulness of Death, and a Cloistered Life of Contemplation 49

XIV. Mindfulness of Death as an Incentive to Right Living, helping Others, and making the Best Active Use of Life 49

XV. Death as "Love," or the "Crown of Life" . . 52

XVI. Predestination and Free Will in regard to Aspects of Death 54

XVII. Aspect of Death from the Standpoint of Pessimism in regard to Life 54

XVIII. Grief for the Death of Others 56

Part III.

COINS, MEDALS, AND MEDAL-LIKE TOKENS RELATING TO DEATH AND THE VARIOUS ASPECTS OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS DEATH 57

Part IV.

ENGRAVED GEMS, FINGER-RINGS, JEWELS, &c., RELATING TO DEATH AND THE VARIOUS ASPECTS OF OR ATTITUDES TOWARDS DEATH 113

I. Engraved Gems, &c. 113

II. Finger-rings, Jewels, &c. 133

ADDITIONAL NOTES 152

INDEX 154

ASPECTS OF DEATH, AND THEIR EFFECTS ON THE LIVING, AS ILLUSTRATED BY MINOR WORKS OF ART, ESPECIALLY MEDALS, ENGRAVED GEMS, JEWELS, &c.[1]

PART I.

INTRODUCTION.

DEATH is no unworthy subject for human consideration. Since men began to think, this subject is one that has exercised their brains. Although ignorance may sometimes, perhaps, be bliss, it can hardly be doubted that man's knowledge that every one must surely die has

[1] A longer, but more correct, title would have been, "The mental attitudes towards the idea of death, and the various ways in which the idea of death has, or may be supposed to have, affected the living individual (his mental and physical state, and especially the direction and force of his actions), as illustrated by minor works of art, especially medals, engraved gems, jewels, &c." Naturally, I have not endeavoured to point out all the possible effects on the living of the various aspects of death as presented by medals, &c. It would, for instance, be quite unnecessary to explain that contemporary medals representing a decapitation for high treason might, at the time when they were issued, have exercised a deterrent influence on those who saw them. *Vide* the medals commemorating the execution of Monmouth and Argyle in 1685, with the inscription "Ambitio malesuada ruit." The "toy-shop" medals (described later on), issued in London on the loss of Minorca in 1756, may actually have played a part in bringing the unfortunate Admiral Byng to his death. In regard to the title, "Aspects of Death," it is scarcely necessary to add that "aspects" must not be regarded as merely equivalent to "representations." On the iconography of death, see Dr. Theodor Frimmel's series of articles in *Mittheilungen d. k. k. Central-Commission . . . der Denkmale*, Neue Folge, Vienna, 1884 to 1890, vols. x.–xvi.; also the works on sepulchral monuments and the various "dances of death" referred to later on.

helped to set the race a-thinking, and thinking on this subject has helped to make their lives throughout historic times different to those of all other animals. Few persons, nowadays, would contradict the proposition of Spinoza (*Ethic*, iv. 67), that the proper study for a wise man is not death, but how to live, since a wise man is not guided by the fear of death,[2] but by his direct desire of the good. Yet, however little a man's everyday active life[3] may ordinarily be affected by knowledge of death and thoughts of what lies beyond the grave, I believe that to banish such thoughts altogether, if it were possible, would be to kick down one of the chief ladders by which the race has climbed to its present position. How much, indeed, do we owe to the knowledge of death! How many a good and usefully altruistic action would never have been performed but for this knowledge and the thoughts arising from it! The Death's heads and crosses and every lugubrious *memento mori* of the Middle Ages have, indeed, had their use. The subject of the mere aspects of death may perhaps be likened to a time-worn skeleton, but when associated with their possible effects on living beings, and with the attitudes of living

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[2] I see, however, that Dr. E. L. Keyes, in a short interesting article on the "Fear of Death" (*Harper's Monthly Magazine*, July, 1909, p. 212), says that the following motto was chosen by John Fiske to adorn his library:—

"Disce ut semper victurus;
Vive ut cras moriturus."

Cf. Horace's well-known line—

"Omnem crede diem tibi diluxisse supremum."

Casca, in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, says, "Why, he that cuts off twenty years of life, cuts off so many years of fearing death." In the case of some persons this would probably apply at the present day.

[3] Even nowadays one may occasionally meet with a *memento mori* device or inscription scrawled up by a visitor or passer-by in some forum or public place, for instance, the saying, "Live as you would die."

beings towards death, the skeleton becomes clothed in flesh and blood, possesses heart and mind and passions and above everything else, a little (though only a very little) of the priceless treasure of free will. In this paper I shall not, of course, attempt to discuss the aspects of death such as actually present themselves to dying persons. Fortunately, the near approach of natural death is generally by no means so terrible to the dying individual himself as it is popularly supposed to be.[4]

The main ideas underlying the *memento mori* principle are well expressed by ancient authors. Seneca, who tries to explain that death when it comes is not to be regarded as a calamity, though it may appear to be one ("Mors inter illa est, quae mala quidem non sunt, tamen habent mali speciem"), writes (*Epist. Mor.*, lib. xi. Ep. 3 (82), 16): "Itaque etiamsi indifferens mors est, non tamen ea est, quae facile neglegi possit: magna exercitatione durandus est animus, ut conspectum ejus accessumque patiatur." He thus counsels one to become familiar with thoughts of death, so that one may not be frightened by its aspect or approach; in fact, he tells one, as Horace (*Epist.*, lib. i. 4, line 13) puts it: "Omnem crede diem tibi diluxisse supremum."[5] Any one following such advice literally might almost say: "Quocunque aspicio, nihil est nisi mortis imago" (Ovid,

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[4] See *Das Sterben*, by Professor H. Nothnagel, whose own last illness, in 1905, was, however, a painful one (*angina pectoris*).

[5] Cf. William Congreve, in his Letter (1729) to Sir Richard Temple, Viscount Cobham:—

"Defer not till to-morrow to be wise;
To-morrow's sun to thee may never rise."

Advice of this kind has not escaped the attention of Roman satirists (fragment of the Satyricon of Petronius); the seriousness, indeed, of Horace's words is much modified by the lines which end his epistle in question.

Trist., i. 11, 23).[6] Again he writes (*Epist. Mor.*, lib. viii. Ep. i. (70), 18): "On nothing is meditation so necessary (as on death)."[7] According to Socrates, as quoted by Cicero (*Tusc. Disputat.*, i. 30, 74), the whole life of philosophers is a studying of death; and according to Plato (*Phaedo*, 64, A), "They practise nothing else but to be ready to die." "Let all live as they would die" (George Herbert's *Outlandish Proverbs*, 1639). "Lebe, wie du, wenn du stirbst, Wünschen wirst gelebt zu haben" (Christian Fürchtegott Gellert, 1715–1769).[8] The main idea in Ecclesiasticus (ch. xxviii. 6) is of course the same: "Remember thy end, and let enmity cease; remember corruption and death, and abide in the commandments." So also in the 90th Psalm (ver. 12, after Luther's translation): "Teach us to remember that we must die, so that we may become wise."

The ancient writers console one for the "Charybdis" which awaits all alike (Simonides) by a variety of arguments. They point out that death is a natural law, and

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[6] W. E. H. Lecky (*History of European Morals*, 1905 edition, vol. i. p. 202), in regard to the Stoic philosophers, wrote as follows: "But while it is certain that no philosophers expatiated upon death with a grander eloquence, or met it with a more placid courage, it can hardly be denied that their constant disquisitions forced it into an unhealthy prominence, and somewhat discoloured their whole view of life." He also quoted from Francis Bacon's *Essays:* "Of Death" (the second essay of the 1625 edition of the Essays): "The Stoics bestowed too much cost upon death, and by their great preparations made it appear more fearful."

[7] A Danish memorial medal of George Hojer (1670) has the inscription "Mors omnibus aequa" on the obverse, and "Vita est meditatio" on the reverse.

[8] Compare an inscription on a sixteenth-century sepulchral monument, attributed to the great French sculptor, Jean Goujon, in the Church of St. Gervais and St. Protais at Gisors:—

"Fay maintenant ce que voudras
Avoir fait quand tu te mourras."

as necessary as birth is: "Lex non poena mors;" [9] "Nascentes morimur, finisque ab origine pendet;" "Principium moriendi natale est." Cicero and Seneca offer much philosophic consolation.[10] Epicurus, in a letter to Menaeceus (Diog. Laert.), wrote to the following effect: "Accustom yourself to the thought that death is indifferent; for all good and all evil consist in feeling, and what is death but the privation of feeling?" Similarly, Lucretius, who designated Epicurus (on account of the good which he thought his teaching had done) as a god, and who in the *De Rerum Naturâ* profoundly studied death from the point of view of natural philosophy, wrote—

> "Scire licet nobis nil esse in morte timendum,
> Nec miserum fieri qui non est posse, neque hilum
> Differre anne ullo fuerit jam tempore natus,
> Mortalem vitam mors cum immortalis ademit." [11]

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[9] Lucan (*Pharsalia*, vii. 470), however, speaks of death (mors), "quae cunctis poena paratur."

[10] For much on the whole subject, see W. E. H. Lecky's *History of European Morals* (first edition, 1869; new edition, 1877).

[11] Munro's translation of this passage (Lucretius, *De Rerum Naturâ*, lib. iii. 866–869) is: "You may be sure that we have nothing to fear after death, and that he who exists not, cannot become miserable, and that it matters not a whit whether (a man) has been born into life at any time, when immortal death has taken away his mortal life." In this connexion I shall quote the following three late Latin epitaphs, which seem to me to breathe the meaning of Lucretius:—

(1) "Non nomen, non quo genitus, non unde, quid egi:
Mutus in aeternum sum: cinis, ossa, nihil.
Nec sum nec fueram genitus, tamen e nihilo sum;
Mitte nec exprobres singula: talis eris."

(2) "Olim non fuimus, nati sumus; unde quieti
Nunc sumus, ut fuimus: cura relicta: vale."

(3) "D · I · M NON · FVI · FVI · MEMINI · NON · SVM · NON · CVRO, &c.

All these three epitaphs are printed in *D. M. Ausonii Burdîgalensis Opuscula*, the Teubner edition, Leipzig, 1886, p. 419. The first of the three is attributed to Ausonius. This style of epitaph has to some extent been imitated in modern times; for instance, the epitaph of a

John Addington Symonds, in his essay on Lucretius,[12] says that the *De Rerum Naturâ* has been called by a great critic the "Poem of Death," and that, as a motto on the title-page, there might be written: "And, Death once dead, there's no more dying then."[13]

In regard to the actual use of *memento mori* devices, we have the well-known passage in Herodotus (*Hist.*, lib. ii. 78), which informs us that at banquets given by wealthy persons in Egypt, it was the custom for some one to carry round the wooden image of a corpse, and tell each guest to drink and enjoy himself, since after death he would be like that image. A similar custom existed in Roman Imperial times, according to the account of the feast of Trimalchio (Petronius, *Satyric.*, c. 34), and certain miniature jointed skeletons made in bronze, preserved in various European museums (there is a specimen in the British Museum), are supposed to have been employed in this way at Roman banquets. The one introduced at Trimalchio's feast (at the end of the first course) was a jointed one of silver ("larva argentea").

What the original significance of such a custom may have been we need here scarcely pause to discuss. On the one hand, it may have been the so-called "Epicurean" ideal of life, namely, a life accompanied by beauty, wine,

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gentleman named Micah Hall (Castleton, Derbyshire), who died in 1804, contains the following: "Quid eram, nescitis; quid sum, nescitis; Ubi abii, nescitis; Valete."

[12] J. A. Symonds, *Sketches and Studies in Italy and Greece*, Third Series (edition of 1898), p. 166.

[13] Mr. W. Wroth has kindly ascertained for me that this quotation is from Shakespeare's *Sonnet*, No. 146, which begins—

"Poor soul, the centre of my sinful earth,"

and ends—

"So shalt thou feed on Death, that feeds on men,
And, Death once dead, there's no more dying then."

and garlands of roses (for those who can get them), till the gloomy unknown takes everything away. The ancient Egyptians seem, indeed, to have taken what one would now term a rather "Epicurean" view of life.[14]

On the other hand, there are Plutarch (*Sept. Sap. Conviv.*[15]) and Sir J. G. Wilkinson (Rawlinson's *History of Herodotus*, third edition, London, 1875, vol. 2, p. 130), who suggest that the original purpose was to teach men "to love one another, and to avoid those evils which tend to make them consider life too long when in reality it is too short." Analogously, in the 90th Psalm (ver. 12) and in Ecclesiasticus (ch. xxviii. 6) we have passages (already quoted) advising mindfulness of death, so that men shall be wise and cease from enmity.

That a degraded Epicureanism existed in Roman times is well shown by certain gems (to which I shall afterwards refer) engraved with "skeleton and wine-jar" devices, and likewise by the design on two magnificent Graeco-Roman silver wine-cups,[16] forming part of the "Boscoreale treasure" in the Louvre Museum at Paris, and supposed to date from the first century of the Christian era (see Fig. 1). These cups belong to a period when the philosophy of Epicurus was popularly supposed to advocate devotion to sensual pleasures.

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[14] *Vide* A. E. P. Weigall, "The Temperament of the Ancient Egyptians," *Blackwood's Magazine*, July, 1908, p. 58.

[15] Plutarch, in his *Septem Sapientium Convivium* (c. 2), says that the Egyptian custom of introducing a skeleton at their banquets and reminding their guests that they also would soon die, tended to incite them, not to drunkenness and sensual pleasure, but to mutual friendship, deterring them from wasting their short span of life in wickedness. In *De Iside et Osiride* (c. 17), Plutarch again refers to the same Egyptian custom.

[16] For beautiful illustrations of these cups, see A. Héron de Villefosse, "Le Trésor de Boscoreale," *Monuments et Mémoirs* (*Fondation Eugène Piot*), Paris, vol. v., 1899, Pl. vii. and Pl. viii.

They are adorned with figures of skeletons ("shades"[17]) and garlands of roses, and bear various inscriptions, some of which urge the enjoyment of pleasure whilst yet life lasts, and whilst enjoyment of anything is possible: Eat,

FIG. 1.—Silver cup forming part of the so-called Boscoreale treasure in the Louvre Museum at Paris, supposed to date from the first century of the Christian era. Photograph from the facsimile in the Victoria and Albert Museum, showing the skeletons, or "shades," of the philosophers Epicurus and Zeno.

drink, and enjoy life whilst you can, for to-morrow you may die, and become merely a "shade" or "spirit."

Some of the skeletons on these cups represent the shades of Greek poets and philosophers, whose names are

[17] I suppose that the skeleton in this sense would have been termed a "larva," or εἴδωλον. It appears to represent what we might speak of as the "spirit" of the dead (philosopher or poet).

inscribed on the silver at their sides, and one of them, accompanied by a pig,[18] is labelled as that of Epicurus himself. Epicurus (that is to say, his skeleton) has a philosopher's wallet ("scrip" of the New Testament) slung from the left shoulder, and holds a long philosopher's staff in the left hand, whilst he lays his right hand on what seems to be a large cake on a tripod table. The pig at his feet is likewise endeavouring to get at the cake. Above the cake is the inscription, ΗΔΟΝΗ ΤΟ ΤΕΛΟC ("Pleasure is the final object"). On the other side of the tripod stands the skeleton of Zeno (founder of the Stoic philosophy), with wallet and staff, in an attitude of disdain (see Fig. 1).

It seems, indeed, as if the devices on these two cups were intended to signify the temporary nature of all kinds of philosophic learning and sensual pleasure alike. The meaning would then be as follows: No matter whose philosophy you follow, you will have to die like the philosophers themselves, but whilst you live you can choose between seriousness and merely sensual pleasure. On the cup on which Epicurus is represented is an inscription confirming this interpretation. The inscription in question is [C]ΚΗΝΗ Ο ΒΙΟC ("Life is a stage"), probably a proverbial saying of the time, which likewise forms part of

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[18] What the popular conception of so-called followers of Epicurus was in Horace's time, and how in the mind of the people Epicurus came to be associated with a pig, is plain from the lines—

> "Me pinguem et nitidum bene curata cute vises,
> Cum ridere voles, Epicuri de grege porcum."
> (Hor., *Epist.*, lib. i. 4, lines 15, 16.)

Lecky refers to the *Life of Epicurus*, by Diogenes Laërtius, in proof of his fine character and of the purity of the philosophy which he taught and of its misrepresentation by Roman so-called followers. Lecky admits, however, that Epicureanism, though logically compatible with a very high degree of virtue, tended practically towards vice.

the following (later) epigram (by Palladas) in the Greek Anthology: Σκηνὴ πᾶς ὁ βίος καὶ παίγνιον: ἢ μάθε παίζειν τὴν σπουδὴν μεταθείς ἢ φέρε τὰς ὀδύνας ("All life is a stage[19] and a game: either learn to play like a child, laying earnestness aside, or bear its griefs").

Many passages of the Greek Anthology[20] give advice of the *carpe diem* kind, and amongst Latin authors Horace may be especially quoted in this respect. See, for instance, his *Ode*, ii. 3, lines 13 to 16—

> "Huc vina et unguenta et nimium brevis
> Flores amoenae ferre jube rosae,
> Dum res et aetas et sororum
> Fila trium patiuntur atra."

The *Rubaiyat* of Omar Khayyam (*c.* 1060–1120) is full of "Epicurean" sentiments, showing also a tinge of "learned melancholy" and pessimism.[21] Justifiable advice of the kind occurs in the "Shih King" of the Chinese.

The sentence in the Apocrypha, "Let us crown

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[19] Cf. the well-known passage in Shakespeare's *As You Like It*—"All the world's a stage," &c.—and somewhat similar passages, quoted by Steevens, Malone, and other Shakespeare critics, from various English writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and from Petronius.

[20] Compare J. W. Mackail's *Select Epigrams from the Greek Anthology*, London, 1906: Verses on the subject of life, pp. 285, 286. The epigram commencing Σκηνὴ πᾶς ὁ βίος is given on page 301, No. xliv.

[21] Dr. Oliver Codrington kindly tells me that Fitzgerald's English translation imparts to the verses of the *Rubaiyat* a deeper "Epicurean" tinge than they in reality possess. Omar was certainly familiar with Greek literature. In a contribution to the *Royal Asiatic Society Journal* (London, 1898, p. 349), to which Dr. Codrington has referred me, Dr. E. D. Ross quotes (p. 354) the following passage from Ibn-al-Kifty, who wrote in the seventh century of the Hejira: Omar was "the most learned man of his day, was versed in the science of the Greeks. He encouraged the search after the One Judge by means of the purification of the inclinations of the flesh for the sake of the elevation of the human soul." It seems to me that a learned man with a Faust-like imagination is certain to have "Epicurean moods" at some period or other of his life, and such moods (frequently revealing a shade also of pessimism) may be the only ones well expressed by him in poetry.

ourselves with rose-buds before they be withered" (Wisdom of Solomon, ch. ii. 8), perhaps suggested the beautiful lines of R. Herrick (1591–1674)—

"Gather ye rose-buds while ye may,
Old time is still a-flying,
And this same flower that smiles to-day,
To-morrow will be dying."

Very similar are the words of the German popular song (Johann Martin Usteri, 1793)—

"Freut euch des Lebens,
Weil noch das Lämpchen glüht;
Pflücket die Rose,
Eh sie verblüht."

The students' song (quoted later on), commencing "Gaudeamus igitur," is older.

Some of the so-called "Moralische Pfenninge" of the town of Basel, which I shall afterwards describe, represent roses and Death's heads, with the inscription, "Heut rodt, Morgen dodt" ("To-day red, to-morrow dead"), or "Heut send (sind) wier rot und Morgen todt" ("To-day we are red and to-morrow dead").

It was in Mediaeval Europe, under the auspices of the Catholic Church, that descriptions and representations of the terrors of death and hell began to take on their most horrible aspects.[22] Thoughtful artists of late Mediaeval and later periods have delighted in contrasting

[22] In this connexion it may be remarked that whilst some of the so-called "parting scenes" on Greek sepulchral marble reliefs are sorrowful in a simple and beautiful way of their own, the mural paintings in Etruscan tombs invest the idea of death (and the parting scenes represented) with horrors equal to those conjured up by Mediaeval superstition and Mediaeval art. The brutal-looking Etruscan "Charun" with his hammer, and occasionally other malignant-looking demons, like Gorgons or Furies (though usually represented as males), sometimes holding snakes in their hands, play an important part in Etruscan death scenes.

death and the emblems of death with the strenuous ambitions, careless indulgences, vices and follies of every-day life. They have delighted in representing the universal power of death, how it carries off rich and poor alike, kings and peasants, wise men and fools, good and bad, old and young, beautiful and ugly. As examples we may refer to the various series of the "Dance of Death" ("Danse Macabre") made by various artists during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[23] The best-known designs, *i.e.* the series attributed to Holbein (the Lyons woodcuts of 1538), end with the "Arms of Death," representing a man and woman supporting a shield with a Death's head as armorial bearing. Albrecht Dürer's well-known engraving (1513), representing a knight on horseback with Death (likewise on horseback) by his side and the devil behind him, is typical of this great artist's work. By Dürer also are the following: A woodcut (1510) of Death and a soldier; a rough drawing (in the British Museum) of Death holding a scythe and riding on a horse (perhaps emblematic of a spreading pestilence), with the inscription ME(M)ENTO MEI, and the date 1505; an early drawing of Death swooping down upon a rider, who is being thrown from his horse (emblematic of sudden and unexpected death). In regard to Dürer's

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[23] Many illustrations from various series are given in E. Holländer's *Karikatur und Satire in der Medicin*, Stuttgart, 1905; but on the whole subject, see especially the elaborate work by E. H. Langlois, entitled, *Essai historique, philosophique, et pittoresque sur les Danses des Morts*, Rouen, 1851; also F. Douce's work on *Holbein's Dance of Death, &c.*, London (Bohn's Illustrated Library), 1858. In spite, however, of the work of Langlois and others, there is still room for a book on what might be termed the "artistic philosophy of death," that is to say, on philosophic thoughts and opinions regarding death, as illustrated by works of art (both great and small) of various ages and of various countries.

"Wappen des Todes" (Fig. 2), it seems to me that the engraving in question (1503) has a different meaning[24]

FIG. 2.—Dürer's so-called "Wappen des Todes" (engraving in the British Museum).

[24] Dürer, in his engraving termed "Wappen des Todes" (dated 1503), seems to me to have used the Death's head rather as an emblem of ruin and destruction than as a *memento mori* in the ordinary sense of the term. The hairy satyr-like man (like a "savage man" in heraldry)

to that of the woodcut attributed to Holbein, and that it is not merely a *memento mori* device like the latter.

An engraving by the "Meister des Amsterdamer Kabinets" ("Meister von 1480") represents Death (with toad and snake) warning a fashionably dressed youth. The subject of another engraving by the same master is the story of the three living kings coming upon three dead ones. This thirteenth-century tale or legend ("morality" story) of three living men meeting three dead men ("les trois morts et les trois vifs"), of which various versions exist,[25] formed a favourite subject for artists, and probably inspired the preliminary versions of

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who supports the shield of arms seems to be endeavouring to seduce a woman. Look first at the woman. She is the traditional lady of Mediaeval times, who is dreaming of a lover,—a gallant knight he must be, and one whose arms can rival others in antiquity and fame. Then look at the man, who approaches gently from behind, whispering into the lady's ear. The lady listens to his suggestions, but she has not yet turned her head to see his hideousness of person, and as yet she can only see his shield with the helmet and wings above it, which might find favour in any lady's imagination. Perhaps Death himself, whose device the man bears, would be preferable to such a lover, for Death is at least a *chevalier sans peur et sans reproche* in so far as his armorial device, here pictured, is as ancient as the human race, and he himself has never yet been sullied by real defeat at human hands. One cannot help thinking that Dürer, in this engraving, has employed a "savage man," not only as an ordinary heraldic "supporter," but likewise to convey a hidden satire on the pursuits of some of the nobles of his time. Perhaps, however, the "savage man" and the "gentle lady" were intended merely to represent Life, supporting the emblem of Death; life does in truth support death, for without life there could be no death.

[25] "Le dit des trois morts et des trois vifs," and the doleful talk of the dead to the living, may well be contrasted with a story of the Chinese mystic, Chuang Tzu (*Musings of a Chinese Mystic*, London, 1906, p. 84), to which my attention was kindly drawn by Mr. John Allan: One day the Chinese philosopher came upon a bleached human skull and (Hamlet-wise) mused as to what kind of a man it had once formed part of. In the night he dreamt that the skull appeared to him and told him that after death there were no troubles, that existence was bounded only by eternity, and that the happiness of a king among men did not exceed that enjoyed by the dead. Mediaeval "morality plays," analogous to morality tales, still attract the attention of the curious.

the "Dance of Death" ("Danse Macabre"), a subject which became so popular in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Three men (rarely women), generally wearing crowns, generally on horseback, and generally engaged in the pastime of hunting, are represented as being suddenly reminded of death by coming upon three decaying corpses (being "eaten by worms"[26]) or skeletons. An early fourteenth-century manuscript of the Arundel Collection in the British Museum (No. 83, fol. 128) has

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[26] The idea of representing the decaying body as being occupied by long worms, snakes, toads, &c. (*i.e.* as being "eaten by worms," according to a phrase still in use in some countries), was doubtless chiefly derived from Ecclesiasticus (ch. x. 11), "For when a man is dead, he shall inherit creeping things, beasts, and worms." An engraving of about 1480, by the "Meister I. A. M. von Zwolle" (the "Meister mit der Weberschütze"), represents Moses with the tables of the ten commandments in an upper compartment, and a decaying corpse, being "eaten by worms," in a lower compartment. This design is evidently meant to illustrate another particular passage in Ecclesiasticus (ch. xxviii. 6): "Remember corruption and death, and abide in the commandments." Even when Death was represented by a skeleton or shriveled body in life-like attitude, the snakes and toads were sometimes not omitted. Thus, in a German fifteenth-century woodcut (by an unknown artist) of "Death in the Jaws of Hell" (reproduced in the *Catalogue of Early German and Flemish Woodcuts in the British Museum*, by Campbell Dodgson, 1903, vol. i. Pl. 2), Death, who is represented by a shriveled figure of skin and bones (in the mouth of a monster who is vomiting up flames), is accompanied by a snake, and has a toad in place of the conventional fig-leaf. So also, in the fifteenth-century engraving of "Death warning a Youth," by the "Meister des Amsterdamer Kabinets" (already referred to), the life-like shriveled figure representing Death is accompanied by a toad and snake. In this connexion one may well remember the lines of Edward Young (*Night Thoughts*, 1742)—

> "The knell, the shroud, the mattock, and the grave;
> The deep damp vault, the darkness, and the worm;
> These are the bugbears of a winter's eve,
> The terrors of the living, not the dead."

The attributes and pomp of death may frighten more than death itself. Cf. Bacon's *Essays*: "Of Death," and his reference to a supposed passage on the terror of the pomp of death in Seneca's writings.

a representation of three kings, one of whom carries a falcon, and three skeleton-like corpses. Over the kings are the following inscriptions: "Ich am afert;" "Lo whet ich se;" "Me thinketh hit beth develes thre." Over the three corpses are: "Ich wes wel fair;" "Such scheltou be;" "For Godes love, be wer by me." The same story evidently suggested an early fourteenth-century mural painting (with the inscription, "Mors sceptra ligonibus aequat") which formerly existed at Battle Church, in Sussex,[27] and also a mural painting in the church of Ditchingham, Norfolk.[28] The same story forms part of the "Triumph of Death," a fresco doubtfully attributed to Orcagna or Lorenzetti (fourteenth century), in the Campo Santo of Pisa; it is the subject of a sketch by Benozzo Gozzoli (1420-1497), preserved in the Louvre at Paris; and occurs in A. Vérard's "Dance of Death" series published in 1492.[29] In the Pisan fresco, a party of men engaged in hunting, three of whom wear crowns, are represented as coming suddenly upon three open coffins, in each of which is a corpse or skeleton, one with a crown on its head. The "Macaber Dance" ("Danse Macabre"), *i.e.* the "Dance of Death," probably derives its name from St. Macarius, an Egyptian anchorite, who is represented on the Pisan fresco pointing out the open coffins to the hunting party. "Les trois morts" are again met with in an anti-Papal drawing of the school of Augsburg (early sixteenth century), which pictures the Pope and a group of ecclesiastical dignitaries being interrupted in some procession or ceremony by three skeletons, one of whom wears a crown. It should be observed that in the

[27] See *Journ. Archaeol. Assoc.*, London, 1847, vol. 2, p. 151.
[28] See *Archaeological Journal*, London, 1848, vol. 5, p. 69.
[29] See Paul Richer's *L'Art et la Médecine*, Paris, 1902, pp. 525–531.

representations of "Les trois morts et les trois vifs" both the live men and the dead men generally bear the attributes of worldly power and wealth; the moral which it was intended to point out may be summed up in the following jingling Mediaeval Latin doggerel:—

"O dominus dives, non omni tempore vives;
Fac bona dum vivis, post mortem vivere si vis."

Hans Burgkmair (about 1510) pictures Death strangling (or rather, in a peculiar kind of way, suffocating) a lover, whose lady flees in terror. Hans Sebald Beham (1522) shows Death approaching a woman on a couch, whose husband or lover lies dead on the floor of the room. By the same artist is the engraving (1541) of Death accosting a lady with an hour-glass in her hands, who is walking in a garden, with the inscription, "Omnem in homine venustatem mors abolet." His brother, Barthel Beham (1502–1540), engraved a *memento mori* design of a baby, hour-glass, and human skulls; there are two varieties (with three and four skulls respectively), one (that with four skulls) bearing the inscription, "Mors omnia aequat"[30] (*vide* Fig. 3). Another engraving (Fig. 4) by the same master represents a mother giving her baby the breast (perhaps the Madonna and Infant Christ); on the table and window-sill are a Death's head and an hour-glass.

Death is pictured on an engraving by Marcantonio Raimondi (early sixteenth century) as a skeleton with wings and a scythe. On an engraving representing the "Hour of Death," by Raimondi's pupil, Agostino Veneziano,

[30] The design better illustrates the oft-quoted line of Manilius: "Nascentes morimur, finisque ab origine pendet;" or, as a physiologist has expressed the same idea, "the first cry of the newly born child is the first step towards the grave."

an aged woman with bent back, leaning on a staff and carrying a basket of sticks, approaches an open grave,

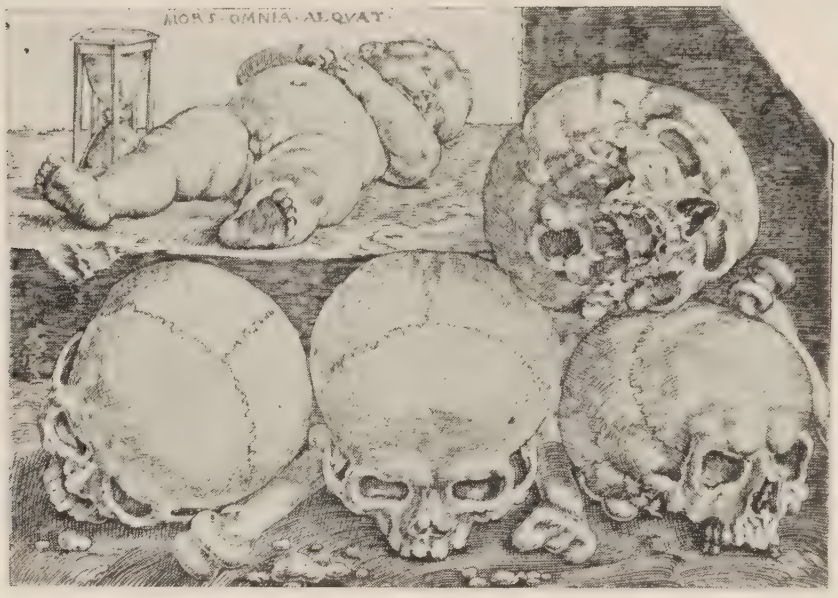

FIG. 3.—Baby with the four skulls. Engraving by Barthel Beham, in the British Museum.

from which the hand of a skeleton holds out a winged hour-glass.[31] In an anonymous Dutch engraving of the

FIG. 4.—Mother and child, with skull and hour-glass. Engraving by Barthel Beham, in the British Museum.

[31] There are other German, Flemish, or Italian engravings and paintings of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, representing fairly simple *memento mori* devices (such as a Death's head in an architectural setting

seventeenth century, Death is seen conducting a sick man to have his urine examined by a doctor, as in one of Holbein's "Dance of Death" series, but Death has probably also come for the doctor himself. In a "Dance of Death" engraved by Zimmermann in a Swiss almanac, Death brings his urine to the doctor for inspection. In an engraving of the Anatomical Theatre of Leiden in 1610, skeletons are represented holding up *memento mori* and kindred quotations, such as "Mors ultima linea rerum" (Horace); "Nascentes morimur" (Manilius); "Principium moriendi natale est;" "Mors sceptra ligonibus aequat;" "Nosce te ipsum;" "Pulvis et umbra sumus" (Horace). These sayings were introduced less probably for the benefit and instruction of the medical students than for the edification of the learned men, lawyers, travelling noblemen, fashionable ladies and sight-seers, who in former times used to visit the anatomical theatres out of curiosity or in search of emotional distractions. Philosophical considerations on life and death were likewise introduced into anatomical lectures and demonstrations.

What may be termed "the *memento mori* age" included the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, and the popularity of *memento mori* devices certainly culminated in the "Dance of Death" designs of the sixteenth century. One must not forget that, owing to the prevalence of, and greater mortality from, epidemic diseases, the saying, "To-day red, to-morrow dead," was still more applicable to human life then than it is in quite modern times. *Memento mori* devices

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with inscriptions, or a skeleton in various attitudes) to which I cannot allude in this place.

occurred everywhere, on paintings and prints, on sepulchral monuments, as architectural ornaments, in books of emblems, on all kinds of jewelry (especially on memorial finger-rings), on devotional objects (such as rosary beads in the form of Death's heads), and on medals. A monkish life of contemplation with "Innocentia et memoria mortis," or "Mors omnibus communis," or "Vita est meditatio," as a motto, was regarded by many as the ideal life to lead, even by those who themselves took a large and active share in the practical work of the world. To illustrate this feeling we need only quote Sir Thomas More, the patron of Holbein who was very familiar with the use of *memento mori* devices, and the friend of Erasmus the great scholar, whose own *memento mori* device, as represented on his medals and favourite seal, we shall have later on to refer to. When imprisoned in the Tower of London, seeing from the window some monks going to execution, Sir Thomas More said to his daughter, Margaret Roper, who was there beside him: "Dost thou not see, Meg, that these blessed fathers be now as cheerfully going to their deaths as bridegrooms to their marriages? Wherefore, thereby mayst thou see, mine own dear daughter, what a great difference there is between such as have in effect spent all their days in a straight and penitential and painful life, religiously, and such as have in the world like worldly wretches (as thy poor father hath done) consumed all their time in pleasure and ease licentiously." [32]

[32] W. Roper's *Life of Sir Thomas More*. This contrast between the life of the religious recluse and an ordinary life of worldly pursuits is exactly the same as that pictorially expressed in the famous "Triumph of Death," a fresco of the fourteenth century (already referred to) in the Campo Santo of Pisa.

A similar train of thought is suggested by Holbein's portrait (in the Munich Pinakothek) of Sir Brian Tuke,

FIG. 5.—Holbein's painting of Sir Brian Tuke, in the Munich Pinakothek.

with a figure of Death, holding a scythe, behind him, waiting for the hour-glass to run out. Sir Brian Tuke,

a contemporary of Sir Thomas More, was Secretary to Cardinal Wolsey, and afterwards Treasurer of the Household to King Henry VIII. He was a patron of learning, and was celebrated by John Leland, the "father" of English antiquaries. On the picture in question he is pointing to a passage from the latin Vulgate version of the Bible, signifying, "Will not the small number of my days be soon ended?" (Job x. 20). (See Fig. 5.)

There are numerous references to *memento mori* objects (finger-rings, &c.) in old English literature. One of the commonest *memento mori* devices was a skull and crossed bones, generally with the inscription, "Respice finem" or "Memento mori." Shakespeare alludes several times to such devices. In the *Merchant of Venice* (act i. scene 2), Portia says: "I had rather be married to a Death's head with a bone in his mouth than to either of these." In the First Part of *Henry IV* (act iii. scene 3), Falstaff says to Bardolph: "I make as good use of it (Bardolph's face) as many a man doth of a death's head or a *memento mori*." In the Second Part of *Henry IV* (act ii. scene 4), Falstaff says to Doll Tearsheet: "Peace, good Doll! do not speak like a death's head; do not bid me remember mine end." In *Love's Labour's Lost* (act v. scene 2), Biron compares the countenance of Holofernes to "a death's face in a ring;" and in one of Beaumont and Fletcher's plays (see later on) the following passage occurs: "I'll keep it as they keep death's heads in rings, to cry *Memento* to me."

Amongst many modern pictures bearing on the subject we may recall the "Pursuit of Fortune," by R. Henneberg (1826–1876), in which a knight riding his fatal race after Fortune is attended by Death in the guise of his squire. This picture has some of the weird and ghastly fancy

of G. A. Bürger's ballad *Leonore* (1774).[33] Arnold Boecklin (1827–1901), whose *Isle of the Dead* and *Vita Somnium Breve* are famous, has in a portrait (now in the National Gallery of Berlin) of himself in 1872, represented Death as a fiddler behind him, much in the same way as in the sixteenth century Sir Brian Tuke (as already stated) had himself painted by Holbein, with Death holding a scythe behind him waiting for the hour-glass to run out. Several designs by William Blake (1757–1827) may be regarded as having a *memento mori* character, especially his illustrations to Robert Blair's poem, *The Grave,* and to Edward Young's very popular *Night Thoughts.* But amongst modern artists Alfred Rethel is quite unsurpassed in his weird and powerful representations of Death, in respect of which he may be ranked with Dürer and Holbein. His "Dance of Death in 1848," showing how Death was the only real gainer from the civil war and barricade-fighting of that unsettled year, is perhaps his masterpiece. The richness of his wonderful imagination is also well shown by his Death coming as a friend (at the peaceful end of an old man's life), and by his representation of Death breaking up a masked ball (the idea being derived from a story of the outbreak of cholera at Paris in 1832). Another "contemporary" "Dance of Death" series, produced in the nineteenth century, is the interesting "English Dance of Death," by Thomas Rowlandson, the famous caricaturist, with letterpress (1815–1816) by William Combe, the author of the *Tours of Dr. Syntax.* Like William

[33] This poem is true enough to nature, if Leonore's ghastly ride be regarded as a nightmare dream or as a delusion during the delirium period of fever in the case of a person familiar with legends of vampires and such-like.

Blake's designs already alluded to, so also some of the illustrations to Dante's *Divina Commedia*, and Petrarch's *Trionfi* (the design of the triumphal car of death), have naturally a *memento mori* significance.

To the dreadful realism with which death and decay have sometimes been represented, as for instance by the Spanish artist, Juan de Valdes Leal (1630–1691), in his "Finis Gloriae Mundi" picture[34] at the Caridad Hospital at Seville, we may contrast the hidden allusion to Death (a distorted skull) in Holbein's picture (painted in 1533), known as "The Ambassadors," in the London National Gallery. In the latter picture the presence (on the floor in the foreground) of a curious *memento mori*, namely, a human skull elongated almost beyond recognition, as it would appear if reflected from a cylindrical concave mirror, is accounted for by what is known about Jean de Dinteville, Lord of Polisy, one of the two men represented. He wears in his black bonnet a jewel formed of a silver skull set in gold, and there are reasons for supposing that at that time of his life (he was twenty-nine years of age when the picture was painted) he thought much of death, and he had doubtless seen the so-called Holbein's "Dance of Death" designs, or similar designs in other series.[35] This picture by Holbein, and Holbein's portrait of Sir Brian Tuke, to which I have already alluded, throw much light on the use of *memento mori* devices in the

[34] Murillo is said to have remarked of this picture that it was so forcibly painted that it was necessary to hold one's nose when looking at it. See Sir W. Stirling-Maxwell's *Annals of the Artists of Spain*, new edition, 1891, vol. 4, p. 1291. In regard to disagreeable realism in art, one may recall the statue of the flayed St. Bartholomew at Milan (seventeenth century) bearing the sculptor's proud inscription: "Non me Praxiteles sed Marcus finxit Agrates."

[35] See *Holbein's Ambassadors, the Picture and the Men*, by Mary S. Hervey, London, 1900.

sixteenth century. I shall later on refer to the favourite device of Erasmus, a terminal head with the legend "Cedo nulli," or "Concedo nulli," a device chosen for his medals and for the seal with which, in the house of Jerome Frobenius at Basel, he signed his last will, dated 12th February, 1536.

It is almost needless to point out that the aspect of, or mental attitude towards, death must vary much with the age, sex, temporary or permanent occupation (or want of occupation), past experiences, future prospects, education, moral and religious surroundings, personal principles and religious beliefs, aspirations, ambition, personal, hereditary or racial temperament, and the temporary state of health and enjoyment in life. It must, to some extent, vary from time to time according to the condition of the mind and body and the changing moods of the individual. Moreover, supposed proximity is likely often to modify as well as to intensify the aspect in which the idea of death presents itself.

My own interest in *memento mori* medals dates from about 1892, when I contributed a short note to the *Numismatic Chronicle* (Third Series, Vol. XII. p. 253) on a curious seventeenth-century medalet in my collection, bearing the inscription, "As soone as wee to bee begunne, We did beginne to be undone," an old English version of Manilius' line, "Nascentes morimur, finisque ab origine pendet." About that time I likewise acquired fine specimens of an Italian *memento mori* medal by Giovanni Boldu, dated 1466, and of the large medal of Erasmus of Rotterdam (1519), with his favourite "terminus" design on the reverse.

PART II.

ARRANGEMENT.

In order to avoid repetition, I shall first attempt to arrange the various possible aspects of death and mental attitudes towards the idea of death into groups numbered by Roman numerals, and then, when describing the medals, &c., in Part III., I shall refer, by Roman numerals in brackets, to the group or groups which I think each one illustrates. In regard to the engraved gems, finger-rings, jewelry, &c., considered in Part IV., I have not thought it necessary to give a reference to one of these groups with each article described.

I. The Simple *Memento Mori* Idea.

In this group death is viewed merely as the necessary end of life, the final goal (*ultima linea*[36]): "Mors ultima linea rerum est" (Horace, *Epist.*, i. 16, line 79).[37] Slightly

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[36] In the common *memento mori* inscription, "Respice finem," the Latin word "finis," like the Greek τέλος and the English "end," may perhaps be taken to mean the final object as well as the final event of life. If this were so, "Respice finem" would be almost equivalent to "Live to die." So also when death is described as the "ultima linea rerum," the word "linea" (doubtless used by Horace as the goal-line in a race) may signify either the limit (end) or the object (goal).

[37] Cf. "Mors omnia aequat." In regard to the so-called "death" of all *things*, compare also—

"Data sunt ipsis quoque fata sepulchris,"

more complicated expressions of the same simple idea are: "Principium moriendi natale est;" "Lex non poena mors;" "Nascentes morimur, finisque ab origine pendet;" "Mediâ vitâ in morte sumus" (Notker Balbulus, of St. Gall, A.D. 830–912), &c. The simple *memento mori* devices corresponding to these simple *memento mori* legends include such common emblems as the following: a human skull; a human skull and crossed bones; a human skull and hour-glass; a human skeleton holding an hour-glass; a winged boy holding an inverted torch;[38] a tomb or sepulchral urn; a baby or child resting on a human skull. The last device specially illustrates the line of Manilius: "Nascentes morimur, finisque ab origine pendet;" that is to say, as a physiologist has expressed the same idea, "The first cry of the newly born child is the first step towards the grave."

Sudden death from injury (especially accidental injury) or disease is expressed by such devices as a rose-bush and death's head, or a dead stag transfixed with an arrow,

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and the English equivalent—

"So far is ought from lasting aye
That tombes shal have ther dying day."

Both of these, together with several other *memento mori* sayings, are inscribed on a painted wooden memorial tablet of the year 1586 in Adderbury Church, Oxfordshire. *Vide Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, London, 1905, 2nd Series, vol. 20, p. 221. The line—

"Quandoquidem data sunt ipsis quoque fata sepulchris"

is from Juvenal (*Satire*, x. 146), and has been rendered by C. Badham, in his translation of Juvenal (1831)—

"For fate hath fore-ordained its day of doom
Not to the tenant only, but the tomb."

Cf. "Mors etiam saxis nominibusque venit" (Ausonius). Compare also Propertius, *Opera Omnia*, lib. iii. 2, lines 19 *et seq.* Death, like Labour and Love, is said to conquer all things.

[38] A "genius of death" like this occurs as a device on Roman sarcophagi.

and by such words as "Heut rodt, Morn todt" (To-day red, to-morrow dead"), as on certain so-called "Moralische Pfenninge" struck at Basel in the seventeenth century. One must not forget that the terrible and devastating pestilences of former times increased the significance of all *memento mori* tokens, which reminded people of every man's liability to sudden death.

According to individual temperaments and circumstances, as already stated, such simple aspects of death may give rise to various mental attitudes, and may exert very different effects. They may favour vital depression or excitation. They may, for instance, modify ambition, induce remorse, diminish future effort or stimulate to make the best use of life while life lasts. According also to individual temperaments and circumstances, the simple aspect of death may be as the "king of terrors" or as the "prince of peace." Some of the expressions above referred to (*e.g.* "Lex non poena mors;" "Principium moriendi natale est") may be regarded as carrying a certain amount of consolation (cf. under Heading VIII.) with them.

II. Death as the Threshold of a Future Existence. Death from the Standpoint of Religious Faith. Metempsychosis.

"Mors janua vitae." "A deathlike sleep, a gentle wafting to immortal life" (Milton, *Paradise Lost*, book xii. line 434). Death may be regarded as the entrance into a higher state of existence by all those who believe in personal immortality, including those who incline to the doctrine of a gradual evolution of souls (by metempsychosis) through the ages, analogous to Darwinic evolution

in the form and functions of the body.[39] A medal of Galeotto Marzi (fifteenth century) is inscribed with the well-known line of Manilius: "Nascentes morimur, finisque ab origine pendet;" followed by the words, "Superata tellus sidera donat." A memorial medal on the death of Sir John Hotham (1645) bears the inscription, "Mors mihi vita;" and the same inscription occurs on a memorial medal of the famous natural philosopher, Aloisio Galvani. Quite similar is the inscription, "Moriar ut vivam" (with the device of a phoenix rising from flames, as an emblem of the resurrection, or of the survival of the soul after the death of the body) on one of the so-called "Moralische Pfenninge" (seventeenth century) of the town of Basel. A phoenix, likewise as an emblem of the resurrection and of the immortality of the soul, occurs on some fifteenth and sixteenth century Italian medals (Domenico Riccio, Tommaso Moro, and Cardinal Christofero Madruzzo), accompanied by inscriptions such as, "Moriens revivisco" ("Dying, I come to life again"). A memorial medal of Adolph Occo III (1524–1606), a physician of Augsburg, is inscribed, "Vita mihi Christus, mors erit ipsa lucrum" ("To me to live is Christ, and to die is gain," St. Paul's Epist. to the Philippians, ch. i. 21); and on another memorial medal of the same physician we read, "Absorpta est mors in victoriam" ("Death is swallowed up in victory," St. Paul's First Epist. to the Corinthians, ch. xv. 54). Luther is said to have worn a gold Death's head ring (see later) on which was the inscription, "O mors, ero mors tua" ("O death, I will be thy death").[40]

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[39] The idea of a "diffused immortality" of souls is not altogether opposed to the same aspect of death.

[40] This inscription, apart from the religious interpretation (cf. the

The memorial medal of Nicholas and Dorothy Wadham (1618), the founders of Wadham College, Oxford, bears the inscription, "When Christ who is our life shal appeare, we shal appeare with him in glory" (cf. St. John, xi. 25 and 26). All memorial medals with legends of the usual epitaph kind, relating to existence after death, may be regarded as illustrating the same aspect of death.

A memorial mourning ring is inscribed, "Heaven is my happyness;" and W. Lenthall (1591–1662), Speaker in the House of Commons, directed by will that the rings given away at his funeral should be inscribed, "Oritur non moritur." A sixteenth-century memorial ring in the Victoria and Albert Museum has the inscription, "Dye to lyve." A somewhat later memorial locket bears a representation of the resurrection; whilst an eighteenth-century mourning brooch has a picture of relatives mourning at a tomb, and comforts them with the inscription, "Heaven has in store what thou hast lost." Lady Evans possesses a small engraved metal plate of the seventeenth century in memory of a boy who, before he died, dreamt "that he had wings and flew to heaven." Needless to say, under the present heading can be included all representations of the Christian ideas of the resurrection of the dead, the last judgment, angels, devils, heaven, hell, and purgatory.

A medal on the death of Marshal Schomberg at the Battle of the Boyne (1690) bears on its edge the inscription, "Pro religione et libertate mori, vivere est." Some memorial medals and memorial finger-rings (which will

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motto, "Mors Christi, mors mortis mihi"), may be compared to Shakespeare's line (already quoted)—

"And, Death once dead, there's no more dying then."

Cf. the motto, "Vive ut (postea) vivas," and the sixteenth-century epitaph (said to be on Joan Brodnax, 1592)—

"Lyve well and Dye never,
Dye well and Live ever."

be described afterwards), on the death of King Charles I of England, allude to a celestial crown as a reward for a martyr's death. But such inscriptions and devices bring us to the subject of medals, &c., commemorating death or martyrdom for religious, patriotic, political, or social opinions, and such medals (and other memorials) are best classed under Heading XI.

I shall subsequently allude to the supposed gem-portraits of Plato with butterfly wings attached to his temple (on the side seen in the profile portraits), in allusion to his argument for the immortality of the soul. These are all bearded heads on quadrangular bases after the manner of a so-called "Hermes" or (in Rome) "Terminus." Furtwängler regards them as representing, not Plato, but Hypnos. However, the gem-type of a philosopher, seated, reading from a scroll, with a human skull and a butterfly before him, evidently refers to thoughts on death and the soul, *i.e.* on the mortality of the body (the skull) and the immortality of the soul (the butterfly). In regard to the subject of existence after death one may further mention certain Roman Imperial coins and "medallions" with a representation of "Aeternitas" on the reverse; engraved gems and Roman Imperial coins with peacocks or other symbols of immortality; certain antique coins (Eleusis in Attica) and engraved gems, with devices relating to the Eleusinian Mysteries; the scarabs and other amulets placed by the ancient Egyptians (down to Ptolemaïc times) with mummies to be of service to the deceased in his future life; antique engraved gems representing (or with types referring to) Hermes in his character of ψυχοπομπός, the conductor of the souls or shades of deceased persons to the nether world; certain antique engraved gems with devices

possibly referring to the Pythagorean and Orphic doctrines, supposed originally to have been derived from India, of a transmigration of souls (metempsychosis)[41]; the coins ("Charon's obolus" or "danacé") placed in the mouth of deceased persons in ancient Greece, and the little circular embossed thin plates of gold ("gold bracteates" of modern numismatists) which probably served a similar purpose. In spite of Lucian's ridicule, the custom of placing coins in the mouth, or between the teeth, of corpses survived from ancient Greece, through Roman and Byzantine ages, to modern times in Roumelia and Anatolia.

Under the present heading one might mention certain superstitions and customs connected with the belief in an existence after death, namely, the weird superstitions connected with the primitive "vampire" tales of Eastern Europe; the Oriental and ancient customs of the sacrificial death or suicide of wives to accompany their husbands (the "Sutteeism" of widows in Hindustan), or of slaves to accompany their masters, into the future life; the idea of the restless wandering spirits or ghosts of murdered persons and suicides, who are able to haunt and worry the living, especially those who injured them during life; and (intimately allied to the last idea) the old Chinese idea of the possibility of obtaining revenge by means of suicide, *i.e.* the idea that the spirit of the dead man may haunt and punish those whose cruelty and malevolence drove him to commit suicide.[42] But I have

[41] There are, of course, many Buddhist works of art representing scenes from the "Jatakas," that is to say, incidents from supposed earlier existences of Buddha. Amongst such works of art is the series of sculptures in the British Museum from the Buddhist Tope at Amaravati in Southern India.

[42] In the British Museum there are some fine coloured Japanese

found little in the way of medals, &c., relating to such peculiar aspects of, and mental attitudes towards, death and the supposed life beyond it. The placing of a coin or coin-like object in the mouth of corpses may, however, at one time have been associated with a belief in "vampires."

Medals commemorating executions come under Heading V., and those commemorating martyrdom for religious opinions come under Heading XI., but both these classes are likewise connected with the present heading, since the cruel executions for heresy depended to a certain extent on the belief in a future existence. The Christian inquisitors or other judges often really believed that they were benefiting their victims by mercilessly torturing and killing them,—that, in fact, they diminished punishment in the life to come by present punishment inflicted in the name of religion. Here we may likewise mention that the types of certain antique engraved gems possibly refer to human sacrifices.[43] The horrors of human sacrifices and the cruel rites (including "Sutteeism") connected with barbarous religious superstitions, were forcibly depicted and denounced by the Roman poet, Lucretius, to part of whose *De Rerum Naturâ* might be prefixed the words: "O Religion! what crimes have been committed in thy name!" (altered from the words on Liberty ascribed to Madame Roland at the guillotine, 1793).

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prints or drawings representing the malevolent apparition of ghosts or skeletons. Another class of suicide for revenge has been reported from certain parts of Africa. There a person whose acts have driven another to commit suicide has himself to undergo a like fate. *Vide* E. Westermarck, *Origin and Development of Moral Ideas*, 1908, vol. ii. p. 233.

[43] Of course some gem-types of the kind may merely depict mythological incidents. On this question see A. Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen*, Leipzig, 1900, vol. iii. pp. 229, 260.

III. Survival after Death in the Minds of Others. Posthumous Fame.

There are, of course, many medals bearing on the subject of fame of various kinds. Horace thought "Non omnis moriar" (*Od.*, iii. 30, 6), when he had finished his third book of *Odes*, and many men are said to have "immortalized" themselves by their writings or their deeds. An Italian medal of doubtful authenticity, described by Luckius,[44] represents Fame, with two trumpets, flying to left, and bears the inscription, "Mortalium immortalitas." "Vivit post funera Virtus" is a Latin saying which has been adopted as a motto by several families. On the monument of Dr. Caius, at Caius College Chapel, Cambridge, is the inscription: "Fui Caius. Vivit post funera Virtus. Obiit 1573, Æt. 63." A French commemorative bronze plaquette of Philippe de Girard, by L. E. Mouchon (1892), bears an allegorical representation of posthumous fame.

Lecky, in his *History of European Morals*, writes: "The desire for reputation, and especially for posthumous reputation —'that last infirmity of noble mind'[45]—assumed an extraordinary prominence among the springs of Roman heroism. . . . Marcus Aurelius, following an example that is ascribed to Pythagoras, made it a special object of mental discipline, by continually meditating on death and evoking, by an effort of the imagination, whole societies that had passed away, to acquire a realized sense of the vanity of posthumous fame." We shall see later on that the vanity of posthumous fame is well expressed on some engraved gems of Roman times.

In one sense, of course, every one does survive in the minds of his successors. A man's life may be obscure and of no

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[44] Armand, *Les Médailleurs Italiens*, 2nd edit., Paris, 1883, vol. ii. p. 119, No. 60.

[45] Milton, *Lycidas*, line 71. Lecky compares this with the remark of Tacitus (*Hist.*, iv. 6): "Etiam sapientibus cupido gloriae novissima exuitur" ("The desire for fame is the last desire that is laid aside even by the wise"). Cf. St. Augustine, *De Civit. Dei*, 5. 14.

obvious significance, or it may be sufficiently striking "to point a moral or adorn a tale;" but every life must yet have some influence—for good or for bad—on the lives of others, and that influence, though diffused and apparently lost, like a ripple on the water, will be borne down the stream of time into the ocean of eternity.

IV. Death as the End of Pain and Misery.

"O death, acceptable is thy sentence unto the needy, and unto him whose strength faileth, that is now in the last age, and is vexed with all things, and to him that despaireth and hath lost patience" (Ecclesiasticus, ch. xli. 2); "It is better to die once for all (ἅπαξ) than to suffer all our days" (Aeschylus, *Prom. Vinct.*, lines 769, 770). In connexion with this aspect of, or attitude towards, death as giving freedom from pain, the comparison of death to a peaceful sleep[46] after the fatigue and turmoil of the day follows naturally. Compare A. Rethel's beautiful design (1851) of "Death as a Friend," tolling the bell of the tower at the peaceful termination of the aged bell-ringer's life.

> "Be the day weary, or be the day long,
> At length it ringeth to Evensong."

"Death is rest from labour and misery" (after Cicero); "Were death denied, to live would not be life" (E. Young); "Non est vivere sed valere vita" (Martial, *Epig.* vi. 70. 15). An old English memorial finger-ring has the inscription: "Breath paine, Death gaine." Of course, to believers in a future existence, death may appear not only as the end of pain, but also as the

[46] Yet, as Sir Lyon Playfair (afterwards Lord Playfair) pointed out, it is merely poetry to call sleep the "twin-brother of death;" scientifically, sleep is rather the preserver of life and a sign of life than in any way analogous to death. *Vide* Sir A. Mitchell, *Dreaming, Laughing, and Blushing*, 1905, p. 10. But the beauty of Leonardo da Vinci's apophthegm will always last:—"Si come une giornata bene spesa da lieto dormire cosi una vita bene usata da lieto morire."

"crown of life," the recompense for pain and trouble bravely borne (compare Heading XV.). Edward Young (*Night Thoughts*, 1742) writes—

> "Death gives us more than was in Eden lost,
> This king of terrors is the prince of peace."

V. Death as a Means of Punishment, Vengeance, or Atonement. The Threat of Death as a Means of exciting Terror. Political Murders and Political Executions.

Under this heading medals commemorating executions should be included, such as those struck on the execution of Monmouth and Argyle in 1685, with the inscription, "Ambitio malesuada ruit," and those struck on the execution of Grandval in 1692. Amongst medals and jettons of various countries commemorating executions (as just or unjust acts), some of the most notable were issued in the Low Countries during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. On certain other medals death is *threatened* as a punishment or means of reprisal. Thus, on two English medals (described later on) commemorating the loss of Minorca in 1756, the obverse inscription is, "Brave Blakney reward, But to B. (Admiral John Byng) give a cord." These medals belong to the popular ("toy-shop") class,[47] and may really have helped in bringing the unfortunate Admiral

[47] The popular or "toy-shop" medals (mostly more or less political) of the period constitute the class best known through the Admiral Vernon and Porto Bello medals of 1739, of which a great many varieties exist. If English history had to be made out by the evidence of medals only, then Admiral Vernon would perhaps figure as the most important personage. These "toy-shop" medals served the purpose of political newspapers; they were, in fact, "medallic newspapers," if the expression is permitted. At the end of the century (about 1795), penny, halfpenny, and farthing tradesmen's tokens were sometimes made to serve a similar political purpose.

Byng to his death. Certain tradesmen's tokens (chiefly halfpennies) of the last years of the eighteenth century, representing a man hanging from a gallows, with the punning inscription, "End of pain," though they did not cause the death of Thomas Paine, may yet have helped to prejudice the English people against him. On a small cast bronze medal, signed by the French sculptor, P. J. David d'Angers, commemorating the so-called "Massacres of Gallicia" (revolt in Austrian Poland) in 1846, the reverse bears the representation of a gallows and the names of those who were regarded as responsible for the "massacres." I do not know of any medals referring to the idea of death (voluntary or involuntary) as an act of atonement—apart, of course, from religious medals. The unpleasant subject of the fancied terrors of death and hell has naturally been much more illustrated on engravings, drawings, and paintings than on medals, engraved gems, &c.[48] Emblems of the Death's head class, when employed to inspire terror in certain cases and in certain ways, may be supposed to have exercised a panic-striking effect similar to that produced (according to stories of former days) when pirates ran up their Death's head ensign, the hoisting of the flag causing doubtless an equivalent sinking of the blood-pressure and courage in some of those who looked at it.[49]

For convenience all medals, memorial rings, &c.,

[48] Certain satyrical medals might be mentioned here, especially the English political ones of the toy-shop class (see previous footnote), issued in 1741, representing the devil leading Sir Robert Walpole by a rope round his neck towards the open jaws of a monster (hell), with the inscription: MAKE · ROOM · FOR · SIR · ROBERT —— NO · EXCISE. (See *Medallic Illustrations*, 1885, vol. ii. p. 561, Nos. 190–192.)

[49] Such a use of the symbols of death is analogous to the employment during warfare of war-paint (and terrifying devices of all kinds) by savage tribes, in former times by aboriginal races of North America, &c.

commemorating political executions and political murders, may be included under this heading, though some of them (*e.g.* medals commemorating the death of John van Olden Barneveldt in 1619, and of the brothers De Witt in 1672) might also be classed under Heading XI. in so far as they commemorate a kind of martyrdom for political principles. Memorials of this class, owing to their number, cannot all be described here, but we may instance the Roman denarius commemorating the murder of Julius Caesar; certain coins of Athens bearing a representation of the so-called tyrannicides Harmodios and Aristogeiton (the statue of them by Kritios and Nesiotes); the medals commemorating the Pazzi conspiracy (1478) at Florence and the assassination of Giuliano de' Medici; the medal on the murder of Alexander de' Medici, the first Duke of Florence, by his kinsman Lorenzino de' Medici, the "Tuscan Brutus," in 1537; the medals, medalets, and other memorials on the execution of King Charles I of England, and on the execution of Louis XVI of France and Marie Antoinette; also memorial medals on the other victims of the great French Revolution, and of various other revolutions in France and other countries.

VI. Death as an Emblem of Stubborn Purpose in War.

Death's heads have been used as military devices in Germany, France, and England. The device was apparently first adopted by the Prussian "Black Hussars," who were brought into existence by Frederick the Great in 1741. They wore a black uniform and a Death's head instead of a cockade. The "Black Brunswickers," raised in 1809 by Friedrich Wilhelm, Duke of

Brunswick-Oels, were likewise given a black uniform with a Death's head as their badge, partly, it is said, as a token of mourning for the previous duke, who was mortally wounded at the battle of Auerstadt (October 14, 1806), in the war against Napoleon.[50] A little bronze Death's head, worn by the Black Hussars on their shakos during the war of 1815 against Napoleon, is illustrated (see Fig. 6). In France a skull and crossed bones constituted the badge of the 9th Regiment of Hussars, which was formed in March, 1793, out of the second corps of "hussards noirs du nord." The device was apparently copied from that of the Prussian Black

FIG. 6.—Bronze death's-head badge (actual size), worn on the shakos of the Prussian Black Hussars in 1815.

FIG. 7.—"Death or Glory" brass badge (actual size), worn on the head-dress of the English 17th Lancers.

Hussars. The English 17th Lancers wear as a badge on their head-dress and collar a skull and crossed bones, with the words "or glory" below (see Fig. 7). The object of this device ("Death or Glory"), which was introduced at the suggestion of Lieutenant-Colonel John Hale in 1759 (who was Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant

[50] The German regiments which at the present day represent the Black Brunswickers and the Black Hussars, continue to wear a Death's head device.

of the newly formed corps), was to create emulation, and to commemorate the glorious death of General Wolfe at Quebec (1759).[51] Victorious fighting and life are more valuable in a war than martyr-like death, and so it is not really surprising that words such as, "Pro patriâ mori, vivere est" (cf. Horace's "Dulce et decorum est pro patriâ mori"), or "Pro religione mori" or "Pro libertate mori, vivere est," have not found favour on military badges. Sentences of this kind do indeed appear on some medals and medalets, which, however, as they commemorate patriotic deeds, should be classed under Heading XI.

VII. Death as an Emblem of Destruction and Ruin.

In regard to the skull and bones as an emblem of danger, destruction, and ruin, there are satyrical medals, as there are satyrical prints, especially political cartoons, on which Death's heads are introduced to suggest the unsound, dangerous, or destructive nature of certain customs, occupations, or enterprises. Thus, on the occasion of a *fête* given in 1875, when Samuel Plimsoll (1824–1898), "the sailors' friend," was elected Member of Parliament for Liverpool, those present wore a medalet with Plimsoll's portrait on the obverse, and one of the so-called "coffin-ships," a species of death-trap which he helped to get rid of, on the reverse. The ship is represented sinking; on one of its sails is pictured a Death's head with crossed bones; in the exergue are the words COFFIN SHIP.

[51] *Vide* Major J. H. Lawrence Archer, *The British Army; its Regimental Records, Badges, Devices, &c.*, London, 1888, p. 77. I am indebted to Mr. L. Forrer for this reference.

A sixteenth-century plaque will afterwards be described, representing Death standing in an attitude of fear or submission before Valour ("Virtus"); by which device it was possibly intended to signify that threatening peril and ruin in an enterprise, or imminent defeat and death in war, might sometimes be successfully resisted and averted by courage.

VIII. Death as Leveller of all Mankind.

"All go unto one place; all are of dust, and all turn to dust again" (Ecclesiastes, ch. ii. 20). Death awaits all alike and makes all equal. Glory, wealth, beauty, and pride of birth make no difference in the end. "Mors omnibus communis est;" "Mors sceptra ligonibus aequat;"[52] "Pallida mors aequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas Regumque turres" (Horace, *Od.*, i. 4, 13). This aspect is illustrated by various memorial medals on great personages bearing inscriptions such as, "Finis gloriae mundi;" "Sic transit gloria mundi," &c. A medal of the seventeenth century, by Christian Maler, has on the obverse a lady's portrait, and on the reverse a skeleton with the inscription, "Sic nunc, pulcherrima quondam."[53]

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[52] This sentence, said to be a quotation from Lucan, was inscribed over a fourteenth-century mural painting (representing "les trois morts et les trois vifs"), which formerly existed at Battle Church, Sussex. An English equivalent occurs in James Shirley's *The Contention of Ajax and Ulysses* (1659)—

> "Sceptre and crown
> Must tumble down,
> And in the dust be equal made
> With the poor crooked scythe and spade."

[53] Compare H. S. Beham's engraving (dated 1541) of Death and a lady, with the inscription, "Omnem in homine venustatem mors abolet."

The type of this medal was apparently copied from a Danish medal dated 1634 (to be afterwards described), which on the obverse bears a similar lady's portrait and words signifying, "I am beautiful," whilst on the reverse is a skeleton with words meaning, "I was beautiful." Such medals may be compared to a certain class of sepulchral monuments (for instance, that of Archbishop Chichele, which will be referred to later on) representing the deceased with all the attributes of worldly wealth and power, and (on a lower slab or compartment) a skeleton or emaciated decaying body, often being "eaten by worms."

It has been suggested that the great popularity in Europe (perhaps especially in Germany) of "Dance of Death" designs, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries may be partly accounted for by the discontent of the lower classes under the feudal system of the period (cf. the history of the Anabaptist "levellers" of Germany, 1521–1525). Such pictures reminded the peasants that at death rank and social distinctions would disappear, peasant and nobleman, poor and rich, would fare alike. The fact that death is the common lot of all mankind ("For dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return," Genesis, ch. iii. 19) could be distorted into a socialistic argument comparable with that suggested by the fourteenth-century rhyme:—

> "When Adam dalf and Eve span,
> Who was thanne a gentilman?"

on which John Ball preached at Blackheath (1381) during Wat Tyler's rebellion. The consideration that death is a natural consequence of birth, and common to all living creatures, offers a kind of consolation to every

one. This aspect of death is therefore, to some extent, also a consolatory one.

IX. Scientific Attitude towards Death. The Investigation of its Causes, &c.

"Nec silet mors" was the motto of the Pathological Society of London on its foundation in 1846. Death, however much grief it causes, will often, if properly questioned, teach us something about the cause, course, and prevention of a disease, which may be helpful for the preservation of human life and health. The Cheselden and Bristowe prize-medals of St. Thomas's Hospital, London, bear to some extent on this aspect of death, especially the former and more beautiful of the two, on which is the inscription, "Mors vivis salus."

The equally beautiful Fothergillian medal of the Royal Humane Society (London) may likewise be mentioned in this connexion, since a specimen struck in gold, now in the British Museum, was awarded in 1845 to Sir John Erichsen for his "Experimental Enquiry into the Pathology and Treatment of Asphyxia." No medals have as yet been designed referring to death from the standpoint of the doctrine of the immortality of germ-plasm (August Weismann, &c.).

X. Medical and Social Attitude towards Death. The Prevention of Unnecessary Death.

Various commemorative medals of medical men and their life-work, and medals relating to sanitation and public health, illustrate to some extent this attitude towards death. Certain coins of Selinus in Sicily (of the period *circa* 466–415 B.C.) may likewise be referred to in the same connexion, since their types commemorate the freeing of Selinus from a pestilence of some kind (malaria ?) by the drainage of the neighbouring marshlands.

They therefore illustrate a grand and public-spirited "hygienic" attitude towards preventible death from endemic infectious disease in the fifth century B.C.

A not uncommon device which specially belongs here is that of a skeleton-like figure (representing death or disease) being withheld or driven back as the result of hygienic work or medical skill and devotion; for instance, the obverse design on the military-like medals awarded to all those who helped in sanitary work, &c., during the epidemic of bubonic plague in Hong-Kong, 1894. Similarly, Aesculapius is represented warding off a figure of death on a medal commemorating the epidemic of cholera in Paris, 1832. Medals relating to the saving of life at great personal risk are best grouped under Heading XI. But for the ordinary medical man "Aliis inserviendo vivo" is surely as good a motto as "Aliis inserviendo morior" or "consumor" (the motto of Tulpius, whose features Rembrandt's art has made familiar).

XI. Death for the Good of Others,[54] or for the Sake of Ordinary Duty or Honour. Martyrdom for Religious, Patriotic, Political, or Social Opinions.

As illustrating this aspect of death, all medals commemorating heroic deeds of life-saving, or attempted life-saving, might be included, as well as the various medals and decorations awarded to those who have risked their

[54] This aspect of death, like No. XIV., may be termed an "altruistic" aspect of death. Strictly speaking, all coins and medals with representations or symbols of the Crucifixion of Jesus Christ might be placed under this heading. (Cf. especially the so-called "Wittenberger Pestthalers" of the sixteenth century, with Moses' brazen serpent on the obverse and the Crucifixion on the reverse. Cf. also the fine sixteenth-century medals by Hans Reinhard of Leipzig, representing the Crucifixion.) To a certain extent the aspect of death from the so-called "Epicurean" point of view (No. XII.) may be contrasted as egoïstic.

lives in defence of, or in helping, others. (In this connexion, however, it may be noted that in so far as the death of the individual man is necessary for the progress of the race, the natural death of every one may, in a kind of way, be regarded as a sacrifice or "involuntary martyrdom"—if the term be permitted—for posterity.)

Intimately allied is the subject of death for the sake of ordinary duty, or for the sake of what is rightly or wrongly supposed to be honour. King Francis I of France, after the battle of Pavia (1525), is said to have written: "Tout est perdu, fors l'honneur" ("All is lost except honour");[55] but in reality life, and with it hope, remained. When honour is all that is saved, there is often no voice to tell the tale, no hand to write it, and no artist to celebrate it on a medal. A sixteenth-century medal of Faustina Sforza, wife of the Marquis of Caravaggio Muzio, has a reverse design and legend signifying: "It is preferable to die than to dishonour one's self by committing a disgraceful action."[56] Two Italian medals of about 1500 bear an inscription having a similar significance: "Prius mori qua(m) turpari." With these might be compared the reverse inscription on two other medals: "Potius mori quam animo immutari," if the change of mind referred to were intended to imply cowardice. A sixteenth-century finger-ring, referred to later on, has the inscription, "Rather death than fals fayth;" and a ring supposed to have belonged to a Knight Hospitaller of Winckbourne, is inscribed,

[55] The actual passage in his letter was: "De toutes choses ne m'est demouré que l'honneur et la vie qui est saulve" (J. A. Dulaure, *Histoire physique, civile et morale de Paris*, 4th edition, Paris, 1829, vol. iv. p. 85).

[56] Cf. Tacitus, *Vita Agricolae*, xxxiii.: "Honesta mors turpi vitâ potior" ("An honourable death is better than a disgraceful life"). Cf. the motto: "Mors potius maculâ."

"Mieu mori que change ma foi" ("Better to die than change my faith"). Compare the family mottoes: "Mutare fidem nescio;" "Mutare vel timere sperno."

Under this heading should belong all medals (and similar memorials) on the death of those who have undergone martyrdom for their religious,[57] patriotic, political, or social opinions. We may instance the medals on the death of John Huss in 1415, of French Huguenots in 1572 and 1685, of Archbishop Affre at Paris in 1848, of John van Olden Barneveldt (political) in 1619, and of the brothers De Witt (political) in 1672. For convenience, however, medals commemorating political executions like that of Barneveldt, and political murders like that of the De Witts, whether there be an element of martyrdom about them or not, have been included under Heading V.

Strictly speaking, all medals and similar memorials connected with patriotism may likewise be admitted here, including those commemorating individuals who have risked or lost their lives in fighting for or defending the real or fancied interests of their country. It is remarkable how few numismatic memorials there are of the great patriotic heroes of Greek and Roman history and legend, though patriotism in ancient Greece and

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[57] In regard to devices which have been supposed to relate to martyrdom, a curious instance of Mediaeval misinterpretation of an antique gem-type may be mentioned. An antique engraved gem in the British Museum, which King describes as representing the Muse Thalia, seated, contemplating a comic mask, with a young faun balancing himself on a pedestal before her, was (King thinks) in Mediaeval times supposed to represent Herodias gloating over the severed head of St. John the Baptist, whilst her daughter Salome practised her steps. The Mediaeval silver setting of this antique gem bears the inscription, IE SVI SEL DE AMVR LEL ("I am the seal of loyal love"). See C. W. King, *Handbook of Engraved Gems*, second edition, 1885, Pl. xxxv. No. 1; but is King correct as to the Mediaeval interpretation?

Rome was probably considered the highest of all virtues. The legendary patriotism and good faith of M. Atilius Regulus is not commemorated on any of the coins of the Roman Republic struck by members of the gens Atilia. So, also, we look in vain to (genuine) coins for representations of M. Curtius, Horatius Cocles, and other legendary heroes of Roman patriotism. A silver denarius struck by L. Manlius Torquatus (who was quaestor in 104 B.C.) bears on the obverse a torque (torques) surrounding the head of the goddess Roma. This is an allusion to the famous exploit of T. Manlius Imperiosus Torquatus, who, in the war against the Gauls (361 B.C.), killed a gigantic Gaul in single combat, and obtained the surname of Torquatus from wearing the torque taken from the dead body of his adversary. Here, however, we touch upon the large class of medals commemorating deeds of valour of various kinds. Such medals are, of course, too numerous to be included here.

In regard to coins of certain Greek towns bearing the portrait of the deified Antinous it should be noted under the present heading that, according to some accounts, Antinous gave up his life for the sake of the Emperor Hadrian.

Amongst medals commemorating deaths for patriotism and military duty in relatively modern times there are those of James Wolfe and the capture of Quebec (1759), Nelson and the battle of Trafalgar (1805), and Sir John Moore at Corunna (1809), and a vast number of medals and jettons of the military and naval heroes of all countries. A medal on the death of Marshal Schomberg at the battle of the Boyne (1690) has on its edge the inscription: "Pro religione et libertate mori, vivere est."

Bronze medallions, plaques, engraved gems, and finger-rings representing the early Roman legend of the

suicide of Lucretia might perhaps (in spite of Beza's "common-sense" epigram) be regarded as illustrating one side of this aspect of death. An Italian niello ring of the fifteenth century, figured in Thomas Wright's introduction to Fairholt's *Miscellanea Graphica* (London, 1856, p. 75), from the Londesborough Collection, bears a representation of Lucretia holding a dagger to her breast, doubtless emblematic of chastity and honour.[53]

XII. The "Epicurean" Attitude towards Death.

The debased Epicureanism of so-called followers of Epicurus in Roman times has been already alluded to, and Roman gems exist engraved with *memento mori* devices, plainly advocating present enjoyment of the sensual pleasures of life. "Eat, drink, and enjoy life to-day, for to-morrow you may die;" or, as Philip Doddridge (in part of his epigram on the motto attached to his family arms, "Dum vivimus vivamus") has put it—

> "'Live while you live,' the epicure would say,
> 'And seize the pleasures of the present day.'"

[53] Thomas Wright, speaking of this Londesborough ring, notes an allusion by Shakespeare (*Twelfth Night*, act ii. scene 5) to the use of a signet representing Lucretia. Malvolio, opening a letter which he thinks is from his mistress, says, "By your leave, wax—Soft!—and the impressure her Lucrece, with which she uses to seal." Representations of Lucretia were popular in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as emblems of chastity and honour. An Italian engraving (sixteenth century) of Lucretia, by Marcantonio Raimondi, bears the inscription, Ἄμεινον ἀποθνήσκειν ἢ αἰσχρῶς ζῆν ("Better to die than to live disgracefully"). There exist many Italian silver finger-rings and pendants of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, ornamented with a conventional female portrait in niello almost exactly like that on the above-described Londesborough ring, but without the dagger. In all probability these conventional portraits, though without the dagger, and often of careless workmanship, were accepted at the time as "Lucretias" (cf. the above-quoted passage from Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*), that is to say, as emblems of chastity and honour. In some of these niello portraits the place of the hand and dagger is taken by a floral ornament.

XIII. Mindfulness of Death, and a Cloistered Life of Contemplation.

A life of contemplation and quiet study in a cloister, withdrawn from worldly passions and ambitions, calmly awaiting and ever mindful of the coming of death, was a monkish ideal of former times. The contrast between the life of the religious recluse and an ordinary worldly life is pictorially expressed in the well-known fresco of the fourteenth century (already alluded to) known as the "Triumph of Death" in the Campo Santo of Pisa. The *memento mori* design on the reverse of an Italian medal of the fifteenth century, by Giovanni Boldu, apparently suggested the design of a marble medallion which I have seen on the façade of the famous Church of the Carthusian Monastery (Certosa) near Pavia, though the legend, "Innocentia et memoria mortis," was substituted for that on the medal ("Io son fine"). The inscriptions, "Mors omnibus aequa" and "Vita est meditatio," on a Danish memorial medal of George Hojer (1670), were obviously meant to suggest that a contemplative life is the best means of preparing for, and being ready for, death, which no one can escape.

XIV. Mindfulness of Death as an Incentive to Right Living, helping Others, and making the Best Active Use of Life.

"Teach us to remember that we must die, so that we may become wise" (*Psalm* xc. 12, after Luther's translation); "In all thy matters remember thy last end, and thou shalt never do amiss" (*Ecclesiasticus*, Revised

Version, ch. vii. 36); "Remember thy last end, and cease from enmity" (*ibid.*, Revised Version, ch. xxxviii. 6); "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might; for there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom, in the grave, whither thou goest" (*Ecclesiastes*, ch. ix. 10). The above-mentioned quotation from the 90th Psalm occurs on a Danish medal, dated 1634, which will be described later on. Life may well be regarded as a period during which man should make the best use he can of his strength, his light, and his free will (however little the last may be), before the darkness of death overtakes him. This attitude towards death should be contrasted with those attitudes that suggest a merely contemplative life and withdrawal from worldly cares and temptations (XIII.) or that suggest a life devoted to sensual pleasure (XII.). It tends to induce a life, not of selfish idleness or sensual pleasure, but of activity and utility.[59]

As illustrating the particular aspect (of life) and death under consideration, we may refer to medals and medalets of physicians or medical societies, inscribed with the famous Hippocratic aphorism: Ὁ βίος βραχύς, ἡ δὲ τέχνη

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[59] W. E. H. Lecky (*History of European Morals*, 1905 edition, vol. i. p. 203) wrote: "A life of active duty is the best preparation for the end, and so large a part of the evil of death lies in its anticipation, that an attempt to deprive it of its terrors by constant meditation almost necessarily defeats its object, while at the same time it forms an unnaturally tense, feverish, and tragical character, annihilates the ambition and enthusiasm that are essential to human progress, and not unfrequently casts a chill and a deadness over the affections." Living a life of activity and utility, such as that referred to under XIV., might be called "the best form of Epicureanism," were it not that the word "Epicureanism" in this connexion might be supposed to signify that the attainment of pleasure is the prime motive, rather than merely a frequent and agreeable consequence or accompaniment, of the active life. ("Non dux, sed comes voluptas.")

μακρή"[60] (as on a medal commemorating the foundation of the Medical Association of Warsaw, 1809), or its Latin translation, "Ars longa, vita brevis" (as on a medal of J. H. Pozzi, 1697–1752, poet and physician of Bologna, and on another of Dr. C. G. B. Daubeny, 1795–1867, of Oxford).

A memorial medal of the reign of Christian III of Denmark bears an inscription similar to those seen on old sun-dials, "Bedenck das Endt und die Stunde" ("Remember the end and the hour,"[61] that is to say, do not waste precious hours), recalling the words of Thomas à Kempis (1380–1471): "Memento semper finis, et quia perditum non redit tempus" (Book I. ch. 25. 11). A little gold enamelled coffin-shaped pendant in the British Museum bears the words, "Cogita mori ut vivas," *i.e.* "Think of dying, that you may live (properly in this world, and thus obtain everlasting life)." "Live to die" is one of many similar inscriptions to be found on old memorial finger-rings. The thought of death as an inducement to help others is well illustrated by many medals to the "pious memory" of founders of, and donors to, colleges, hospitals, and other philanthropic and charitable institutions.[62]

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[60] "Art is long, and time is fleeting" (Longfellow's *Psalm of Life*); "Ach Gott! die Kunst ist lang, und kurz ist unser Leben" (Goethe's *Faust*). The Latin form occurs in Seneca's *De Brevitate Vitae*.

[61] Under the present heading (XIV.) the familiar "Respice finem" might be replaced by "Respice vitam." It is not so much "Think of the end," as "Think of the shortness of life, and make active use of the time you have," or, as Benjamin Franklin (*Pennsylvania Almanac*, 1758) said, "Dost thou love life? Then do not squander time, for that is the stuff life is made of." "I will give you everything but time," said (?) Napoleon I.

[62] This attitude towards death is to some extent illustrated by the following much-quoted epitaph lines:—

"That I spent, that I had;
That I gave, that I have;
That I left, that I lost."

XV. Death as "Love," or the "Crown of Life."

Somewhere or other the angel of death has been pictured conducting away a human soul, who in the gloom recognizes the face of the messenger, transformed from that of death to that of love. One has to acknowledge that deaths, like births, are both necessary and beneficial for the progress of the human race. Therefore, in a kind of way, natural death may be regarded as a manifestation of Nature's love for her children. It seems as if death and decay are as necessary for life and growth as life and growth are for death and decay, as the existence of pain and sadness is for pleasure and gladness, grief for joy, misery for happiness, evil for good, opposition for valour,[63] vice for virtue, pessimistic ideas for optimistic ideas,

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Of this epitaph-inscription there are various versions, the earliest being the Courtenay one of the fifteenth century. (*Vide* the correspondence in the *Standard*, London, December 14, 1897.) The same idea is suggested by the Mediaeval doggerel, already referred to: "O dominus dives, non omni tempore vives; Fac bona dum vivis, post mortem vivere si vis." Compare the following epitaph-advice (1592): "Lyve well and Dye never, Dye well and Live ever;" also the more ordinary mottoes, "Vive ut vivas in vitam aeternam," "Vive ut postea vivas."

[63] The motto, "Marcet sine adversario virtus," appears on the reverse of three medals which have been published as of the fifteenth century, *vide* A. Armand, *Les Médailleurs Italiens*, 2nd edition, Paris, 1883, vol. ii. pp. 51, 74, 85. Mr. G. F. Hill has, however, kindly pointed out to me that only the last of these is genuine, namely, the medal by Jean de Candida (see H. de la Tour, *Revue Numismatique*, Paris, 1894, 3rd series, vol. xii. p. 327, and pl. viii.), of his friend and patron, Robert Briçonnet, French statesman and Archbishop of Reims, who died in 1497. I have been able to examine one of the supposed medals of Francesco Accolti (Armand, *loc. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 51). In the production of that piece probably a plaster cast of the medal of Robert Briçonnet served as the foundation. In the plaster cast the portrait on the obverse could have been slightly altered, the legend changed to FRAN · ACCOLTIVS · ARET · , and the date (1455) added (incuse) below the bust. From the plaster cast thus altered a sand-casting in bronze could easily be obtained. To some extent the medal of Briçonnet may be taken as suggesting the doctrine of progress by struggle. Resting

darkness for light, negative electricity for positive electricity; a consideration which throws some light on the "mystery" of pain, misery, and death. It is difficult to believe that anything necessary and beneficial for the race would not appear kind and beneficial to the individual also if only he were able to understand everything about it. I have not, however, come across any medal or jewel illustrating exactly this aspect of death.

Of course, to those who believe in a future existence, especially to those who incline to the doctrine of a gradual evolution of souls by passage through the trials of life, natural death (but rarely if ever suicide) may sometimes appear as a reward for troubles bravely borne,—in fact, as the "crown of life" (Edward Young, *Night Thoughts*, 1742); though the latter expression is usually applied to events of life other than its termination. The idea of the martyr's "celestial crown" (cf. certain memorial medals, rings, &c., of King Charles I of England, to be described later on) is, of course, a distinctly different one.

(as Luther thought) easily leads to rusting. Carlyle (*Past and Present*, 1843) proclaimed that all true work was religion: "admirable was that saying of the old monks, Laborare est orare." "Shall I not have all eternity," he also asked, "to rest in?" By the laws of evolution the only alternative to idleness with regression is activity with progression. Practically no middle course is possible. Amongst expressions relating to the dualistic idea of good and evil, such as "No roses without thorns," is "Nulla sine merore [maerore] voluptas" ("No pleasure without sadness"), which appears as the motto of Georg Gisze (a Basel merchant "of the Steelyard" in London) on his magnificent portrait, dated 1532, by Holbein, now in the Picture Gallery of the Old Museum at Berlin. Leonardo da Vinci (*Note-books*, rendered into English by E. McCurdy) wrote: "Pleasure and Pain are represented as twins, as though they were joined together, for there is never the one without the other. . . . They are made with their backs turned to each other, because they are contrary the one to the other. They are made growing out of the same trunk, because they have one and the same foundation."

XVI. Predestination and Free Will in regard to Aspects of Death.

This heading should, perhaps, have followed Heading VII. The passive "Kismet" attitude towards life and death, right and wrong, may well be contrasted with that expressed in the oft-quoted quatrain of W. E. Henley (1849-1903):—

> "It matters not how strait the gate,
> How charged with punishments the scroll,
> I am the master of my fate;
> I am the captain of my soul."

Death may sometimes be successfully resisted by determined action, and a plaque, already referred to, representing Death in an attitude of fear or submission before Valour (or Virtue), was perhaps intended to express this idea.

XVII. Aspect of Death from the Standpoint of Pessimism in regard to Life.

This aspect, which should really have followed No. IV., may be contrasted with Nos. XIV. and XV. (optimistic views). A pessimistic attitude towards life is well expressed in the verses of Theognis of Megara (sixth century B.C.):—

> Πάντων μὲν μὴ φῦναι ἐπιχθονίοισιν ἄριστον,
> Μηδ' ἐσιδεῖν αὐγὰς ὀξέος ἠελίου,
> Φύντα δ' ὅπως ὤκιστα πύλας Ἀΐδαο περῆσαι
> Καὶ κεῖσθαι πολλὴν γῆν ἐπιεάσσμενον.

In the *Oedipus Coloneus* of Sophocles a very similar passage (line 1225) forms part of a song of the Chorus, which Professor R. C. Jebb has thus translated: "Not to be born is, past all prizing, best; but, when a man hath seen the light, this is next best by far, that

with all speed he should go thither, whence he hath come." The same opinion has been expressed or quoted in the writings of Alexis, Cicero, and Ausonius. Epicurus, in a letter to Menaeceus (transcribed by Diogenes Laertius in the *Lives of the Philosophers*), asked why the author of such opinions, if he seriously held them, did not himself voluntarily depart from this world. However, individuals may be subject to temporary "pessimistic moods" without killing themselves; such persons exist now, as they existed in Goethe's time, and doubtless existed long before the days of Epicurus. An old English memorial finger-ring is inscribed: "Breath paine, Death gaine." Sir Thomas Browne, though not a pessimist, quoted (*Religio Medici*, 1643) the following passage from Lucan:—

> "Victuros dei celant ut vivere durent,
> Felix esse mori;"

and himself wrote: "There is, therefore, but one comfort left, that, though it be in the power of the weakest arm to take away life, it is not in the strongest to deprive us of death" (compare Heading IV.).

Several seals, medals, &c., having a pessimistic significance will be described later on.

On a medal figured in Part IV. human life is likened to a soap-bubble. That is a rather pessimistic view, but some there may be who wish that the "bubble of life," the gift of Nature to her children, consisting of life's hopes and aspirations—and even its illusions, its mirage, and its dreams—will never burst, at all events, not till death has overtaken them. The death of hope, which may be said to make of life a tomb, has been allegorically represented on a bronze plaquette ("L'Espérance morte," 1892) by the modern French artist, L. E. Mouchon.

XVIII. Grief for the Death of Others.

Numberless memorial medals, finger-rings, &c., have devices and inscriptions which more or less illustrate this subject. Here may be mentioned various rings, brooches, lockets, &c., bearing "mourning" devices, and memorial medals with such inscriptions as: "We shall not look upon his like again" (after Shakespeare's *Hamlet*). Thus, a memorial medal (a specimen of which was formerly in my collection) of a certain Bartholomew Johnson, who died at Scarborough on February 7, 1814, when he was supposed to be in his 104th year, bears on the reverse the inscription, "He was a man, take him for all in all. We shall not look upon his like again." A memorial medal by the Belgian medallist, Charles Wiener, of Jonas Webb, 1862, a celebrated breeder of sheep in Cambridgeshire (whose statue stands close to the Market Place at Cambridge), has around the bust on the obverse the inscription: "We shall not look upon his like again."

A medal of Ferdinand (afterwards the German Emperor Ferdinand I), brother of the Emperor Charles V, struck in 1547, on the death of his wife Anna, has on the reverse the letter A over a death's head and a bone, with the inscription: WIER KLAGENS GOTT ("We bewail it to God"). This medal makes one think of a bell for tolling at funerals, with the words "Mortuos plango" inscribed on it.

The "parting scenes" on Greek and Etruscan sepulchral monuments hardly come within the range of the present work, but will be alluded to in Part IV.

Some eighteenth-century mourning finger-rings, brooches, &c., have inscriptions intended to comfort the survivors, such as: "Not lost, but gone before," and "Heaven has in store what thou has lost." But I have not seen it suggested on any mourning or memorial medals, jewelry, &c., that too long mourning for the dead is a useless waste of life, and therefore wrong. Cf. *Ecclesiasticus* xxxviii. 21: "Thou shalt not do him good, but hurt thyself;" one of William Blake's illustrations to Edward Young's *Night Thoughts* might have also served as an illustration to this passage in *Ecclesiasticus*.

PART III.

COINS, MEDALS, AND MEDAL-LIKE TOKENS RELATING TO DEATH AND THE VARIOUS ASPECTS OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS DEATH.

Most of these pieces fall under one of the following classes:—

(A) Personal or other medals, bearing *memento mori* devices, as, for instance, those of Erasmus of Rotterdam.

(B) Ordinary commemorative medals, mostly of well-known individuals, issued on their death (sometimes on their assassination or execution). Some of these, like certain sepulchral monuments[64] of Church dignitaries and other persons of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, and like certain mourning finger-rings (described later on), have been designed to serve as a *memento mori* to the living as well as a memorial of the dead.

(C) Memorial medalets made, like some memorial and mourning finger-rings, to be distributed "in memoriam" at funerals. Some of these, like some of those of the preceding class, have been designed so to serve the double purpose of a memorial of the dead and a *memento mori* to the living.

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[64] The sepulchral monument of Archbishop Chichele (died 1443) will be referred to later on in connexion with some of these medals.

(D) Various pieces bearing *memento mori* devices, used as tickets, passes, or badges, in connexion with funeral celebrations, medical guilds (Delft and Middelburg), medical gardens (Amsterdam), &c. According to Bergsøe (*Danske Medailler og Jetons*, Copenhagen, 1893, p. 141), certain death's head medalets were at one time used by medical students of the Copenhagen University as badges on their caps. In Holbein's picture, known as "The Ambassadors" (1535), in the National Gallery, London, one of the two young men, Jean de Dinteville, Lord of Polisy, is represented wearing a little silver death's head mounted as a jewel in his black bonnet. This was perhaps an outward sign of the wearer's mental attitude, indicated likewise by the ("hidden") skull at his feet. Needless to say, the death's heads worn as cap-badges by some regiments in the German and English armies have a very different significance.

(E) Medals bearing *memento mori* devices designed to have a "moral" significance, and to be used as gifts or rewards on special occasions, like the so-called "Moralische Pfenninge" of the town of Basel. These may be compared to *memento mori* finger-rings and jewels used for devotional purposes, &c.

In regard to the persons represented on the medals, the selection I have made cannot be regarded as a "collection of medals of famous men and women," for almost unknown individuals are commemorated side by side with those whose names are still household words amongst the educated classes of the whole world. The same may be said of almost every collection of portraits,[65]

[65] In regard, for instance, to collections of medals of "famous" physicians and naturalists, Billroth (1829–1894), the great surgeon, once remarked to Dr. J. Brettauer of Trieste (who died in 1905), that the

and in the case of some medallions, just as in the case of many beautifully painted or sculptured portraits, the very name of the person represented has been irretrievably lost.

In the present paper I have not attempted to describe *every* medal, coin, medallic token, or badge bearing a device or inscription relating to death, but those that I have selected include characteristic examples of various periods. The order followed is mainly chronological, and the large Roman numerals in brackets, as I have already stated, refer to the aspects of, or attitudes towards, death which I think the devices or inscriptions on the medals illustrate.

(X.) Greek coins illustrating a medical and hygienic attitude towards preventible death in the fifth century B.C.

The following silver coins of Selinus in Sicily date from about 466–415 B.C., and commemorate the freeing of Selinus from a pestilence of some kind (malaria?)[66] by the drainage of the neighbouring marshlands.

Obv.—Apollo and Artemis standing side by side in a slowly moving quadriga, the former discharging arrows from his bow.

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medals in such collections are chiefly, not of distinguished and well-known, but of forgotten, obscure, or absolutely unknown physicians and naturalists.

[66] In regard to the question of malaria, it seems to have been at about the same period (in the fifth century B.C.) that Greece proper first began to suffer severely from malaria, a disease which appears ultimately to have taken an important place among the causes of Greek national decadence. *Vide* W. H. S. Jones, *Malaria and Greek History*, Manchester, 1909.

Rev.—The river-god Selinus, naked, with short horns, holding patera and lustral branch, sacrificing at an altar of Asklepios (Aesculapius), in front of

Fig. 8.

which is a cock. Behind him on a pedestal is the figure of a bull, and in the field above is a selinon leaf. Inscription: ΣΕΛΙΝΟΝΤΙΟΝ. (Fig. 8.)

Silver tetradrachm. *Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum—Sicily*, London, 1878, p. 140.

B. V. Head (*Historia Numorum*, Oxford, 1887, p. 148) says of this piece: "Apollo is here regarded as the healing god (ἀλεξίκακος) who, with his radiant arrows, slays the pestilence as he slew the Python. Artemis stands behind him in her capacity of εἰλείθυια or σοωδῖνα, for the plague had fallen heavily on the women too: ὥστε καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας δυστοκεῖν (Diogenes Laertius, lib. viii. 2, *Life of Empedocles*, 70). On the reverse the river-god himself makes formal libation to the god of health, in gratitude for the cleansing of his waters, whilst the image of the bull symbolizes the sacrifice which was offered on the occasion."

Obv.—Heracles contending with a wild bull, which he seizes by the horn, and is about to slay with his club Inscription: ΣΕΛΙΝΟΝΤΙΟΝ.

Rev.—The river-god Hypsas sacrificing before an altar, around which a serpent twines. He holds a

branch and a patera. Behind him a marsh-bird (stork) is seen departing. In the field, a selinon leaf. Inscription: ΗΥΨΑΣ. (Fig. 9.)

Fig. 9.

Silver didrachm. *Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum—Sicily*, London, 1878, p. 141.

Head (*loc. cit.*) says of this piece: "Here, instead of Apollo, it is the sun-god Herakles, who is shown struggling with the destructive powers of moisture symbolized by the bull, while on the reverse the river Hypsas takes the place of the river Selinus. The marsh-bird is seen retreating, for she can no longer find a congenial home on the banks of the Hypsas now that Empedocles has drained the lands." It seems that the philosopher Empedocles, who at that time was at the height of his fame, put a stop to the plague by turning two neighbouring streams into one, *καὶ καταμίξαντα γλυκᾶναι τὰ ῥεύματα* (Diogenes Laertius, *loc. cit.*). The Seluntines conferred divine honours upon Empedocles, and their above-described coins still exist as a wonderful monumental record of the events in question.

(II.) Greek coins of Eleusis in Attica, commemorating the Eleusinian Mysteries.

The Eleusinian Mysteries were supposed to have offered a comforting view in regard to death and a

future existence. They are commemorated on certain bronze coins of Eleusis, supposed to date from the fourth century B.C., which represent Triptolemos in a winged

Fig. 10.

car drawn by serpents (dragons) on the obverse; and a pig on a pine-torch, or encircled with a wreath of corn, on the reverse, with the inscription ΕΛΕΥΣΙ (Fig. 10).

Another bronze coin of Eleusis, also referring to the Eleusinian Mysteries, has the head of Demeter or Persephone on the obverse; and a "plemochoë" on a pedestal on the reverse, with the inscription ΕΛΕΥΣ. *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum—Attica*, London, 1888, pp. 112–114.

In regard to antique gems engraved with devices referring to the Eleusinian Mysteries, especially after the introduction of these mysteries into Italy and Rome, see A. Furtwängler, *Die Antiken Gemmen*, 1900, vol. 3, pp. 208, 253, 339; see also C. W. King, *Handbook of Engraved Gems*, second edition, 1885, Pl. xlvi. No. 3.

(V.) The murder of Julius Caesar, on the Ides (15th day) of March, 44 B.C.

There is a Roman denarius commemorating the murder of Caesar, struck (according to the evidence of the historian Dion Cassius [67]) by actual order of one of his murderers, M. Junius Brutus.

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[67] According to Dion Cassius (*Historia Romana*, lib. xlvii. sect. 25),

Obv.—Bare head of Brutus to right. Inscription: BRVT . IMP. L · PLAET · CEST. (Brutus imperator; Lucius Plaetorius Cestianus).

Rev.—Cap or pileus (as the emblem of liberty) between two daggers. Below, inscription: EID · MAR · (Eidibus Martis). (Fig. 11.)

Fig. 11.

E. Babelon, *Monnaies de la République Romaine*, Paris, 1886, vol. ii. p. 119, No. 52. Of this rare silver denarius antique plated copies likewise occur. The piece was doubtless struck in the East some time between B.C. 44 (when Caesar was assassinated) and the battle of Philippi (B.C. 42). Of the moneyer L. Plaetorius Cestianus no mention is made in history.

Several coins struck under Brutus and Cassius after the murder of Caesar, have the head of Liberty on the obverse, with the inscription, LIBERTAS or LEIBERTAS.

During the interregnum which followed the death of Nero (A.D. 68), denarii were struck with the head of Liberty on the obverse and with the old type of the pileus between two daggers on the reverse, the obverse and reverse inscriptions reading: LIBERTAS P. R. RESTITVTA (Libertas populi Romani restituta).

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the two daggers on the reverse signify the joint shares of Brutus and Cassius in the murder. See also Eckhel, *Doctrina Numorum Veterum*, vol. vi. (1796), p. 24.

(Fig. 12.) *Vide* H. Cohen's *Médailles Impériales*, first edition, 1859, vol. i. p. 249, Nos. 267 and 268.

FIG. 12.

The type of the "cap of liberty" between two daggers occurs again on the reverse of a medal (described later on) commemorating the murder of Alexander de' Medici, the first Duke of Florence, in 1537, by his kinsman, Lorenzo de' Medici, called "Lorenzino."

(XI.) Martyrdom of John Huss, the Bohemian Reformer, 1415.

The Reformer's death at the stake is represented on various sixteenth-century memorial medals by the medallists, Michael Hohenauer and Ludwig Neufarer. Hohenauer's monogram was mistaken by Adolf Erman, before Fiala's work on the subject, for that of Hieronymus Magdeburger. *Vide* L. Forrer's *Biographical Dictionary of Medallists;* Eduard Fiala's note on Michael Hohenauer in the *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, Vienna, 1890, vol. 22, p. 258; and R. Weil, "Die Medaille auf Johannes Hus," *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, Berlin, 1887, vol. 14, p. 125.

Here it may be mentioned, by the way, that a few Byzantine and other relatively early Christian medalets, &c., exist, commemorating Christian martyrs. Amongst the martyrs most frequently portrayed are St. Lawrence, St. Agnes, and St. Menas of Alexandria (the last especially on little pilgrims' terra-cotta flasks from Egypt). On an

early Christian leaden medalet with loop for suspension, figured by F. X. Kraus (*Geschichte der Christlichen Kunst*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1896, vol. i. p. 126), the soul of the martyred St. Lawrence is represented as a draped (female?) figure, in the attitude of an "orans," rising out of the martyr's roasting body.

(I. and XVII.) *Memento mori* medals by Giovanni Boldu, of Venice, 1458–1466.

Fig. 13 (reduced).

Obv.—Bust of Boldu, with Greek inscription.

Rev.—A young man, nude, sitting on a rock, to right, hiding his face with his hands; on the right a winged child is seated, resting his right arm on a skull and holding a torch in his left. Legend: OPVS. IOANIS. BOLDV. PICTORIS. VENETI. XOGRAFI. MCCCCLVIII. (Fig. 13.)

Diameter, 3·35 inches; cast in bronze. A. Armand, *Les Médailleurs Italiens*, second edition, 1883, vol. i. p. 36, No. 1. A. Heiss, *Les Médailleurs de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1887, vol. i. (Venetian Medals), Pl. ii. No. 2.

According to Cornelius von Fabriczy (*Italian Medals*,

translated by Mrs. G. W. Hamilton, London, 1904, p. 47), the winged child on the reverse of this medal is copied from the cupid on the reverse of a medal of the Marquis Lodovico Gonzaga of Mantua (Armand, *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 27) made by the medallist, Pietro da Fano, about 1452–1457. I have little doubt that Boldu's reverse type, above described (as well as that of another medal by Boldu, to which I shall refer in Part IV.), was intended to represent a rather pessimistic aspect of human life, reminding one of Goethe's lines commencing, "Wer nie sein Brod mit Thränen ass." The child is thrust into life and forced to join in its race, with its trials and troubles, its punishments and rewards; and death, a cure for grief and misery, awaits him at the end.

A third medal, made by Boldu in 1446, represents the bust of the Roman Emperor Caracalla on the obverse,

Fig. 14 (reduced).

with the legend: ANTONINVS. PIVS. AVGVSTVS. The reverse is similar to that of the first-described

medal, but it has the legend, IO. SON. FINE ("I am the end") and the date MCCCCLXVI. (Fig. 14.)

Diameter, 3·6 inches; cast in bronze. Armand, *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 37, No. 4. Heiss, *op. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. ii. No. 3.

The reverse type of this medal has apparently suggested the design for one of the marble medallions which I have noticed on the façade of the famous Certosa di Pavia (Carthusian Monastery, near Pavia), but instead of the legend, IO. SON. FINE, the marble medallion has the legend: INNOCENTIA. E. MEMORIA. MORTIS.

(V.) Lorenzo and Giuliano de' Medici and the Pazzi conspiracy (1478).

The Pazzi conspiracy (1478) was formed by members of the Pazzi family, assisted by Francesco Salviati, titular Archbishop of Pisa. The conspirators decided to assassinate the two brothers whilst they were attending Mass in the Duomo of Florence. Giuliano was killed, but Lorenzo escaped and took vengeance on the assassins. The following medal was formerly attributed to Antonio del Pollajuolo, owing to a statement of Vasari, but has recently been assigned by W. Bode to Bertoldo di Giovanni, the Florentine sculptor (died 1492).

Obv.—An octagonal scaffolding representing the pillars of the Duomo. Above, the head of Lorenzo de' Medici to right. Below, priests ministering at an altar. Outside the enclosure, conspirators with swords drawn, and others, Lorenzo escaping. Inscription: LAVRENTIVS MEDICES and SALVS PVBLICA.

Rev.—A similar scene, with the head of Giuliano (to left) above it; Giuliano being slain, below.

Inscription: IVLIANVS MEDICES and LVCTVS PVBLICVS.

Diameter, 2·5 inches; cast in bronze. C. F. Keary, *Italian Medals exhibited in the British Museum*, 1881, p. 16, No. 34. C. von Fabriczy, *Italian Medals*, English edition by Mrs. Hamilton, London, 1904, pp. 111, 112.

A medal of Giuliano de' Medici, commemorating the same event, has the portrait of Giuliano on the obverse, with the inscription: IVLIANVS. MEDICES. On the reverse is a figure of Nemesis, with the inscription, NEMESIS. Diameter, 3·55 inches. A. Armand, *Les Médailleurs Italiens*, Paris, vol. iii. 1887, p. 27.

(II.) Medal of Domenico Riccio, a Dominican monk (*circa* 1498).

Obv.—Bust, to left, in monastic dress, the head covered by a hood. Inscription: DOMINICVS RICCIVS.

Rev.—Phoenix (emblem of the resurrection of the body and immortality of the soul) under the sun. Inscription: MORTE. VITA. HYEME. AESTATE. PROPE. LONGE.

Diameter, 2·8 inches. Armand, *Les Médailleurs Italiens*, second edition, Paris, 1883, vol. ii. p. 77; also vol. iii. (1887), p. 185.

According to G. Milanesi (quoted by Armand), this Domenico Riccio was Fra Domenico da Pescia, Savonarola's disciple and companion, who was executed with him in 1498.

(I.) *Memento mori* medal of Galeotto Marzi (second half of fifteenth century).

Obv.—Bust to left. Inscription: GALEOTTVS. MARTIVS. POETA. CLARS. MATHEMATICVS. ET. ORATOR.

Rev.—Two shelves of books, those in one upright, in the other lying flat. Inscription: NASCENTES. MORIMVR. FINIS. Q. AB. ORIGINE. PENDET. [Manilius, *Astronomicon*, iv. 16.] SVPERATA. TELLVS. SIDERA. DONAT.

Diameter, 4·3 inches; Italian fifteenth-century cast medal. Armand, *Les Médailleurs Italiens*, second edition, Paris, 1883, vol. ii. p. 35, No. 25.

Galeotto Marzi was a poet and learned man. He was tutor to the son of Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary.

There is a similar medal of smaller size (diameter, 3·1 inches) with the same design and legend on the reverse, but with a somewhat younger portrait on the obverse (Armand, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 35, No. 26).

(XI.) Two Italian medals of about 1500, by the medallist termed by Armand, "le Médailleur à la Fortune," have on the reverse the inscription: PRIVS. MORI. QVA(M). TVRPARI ("Rather to die than be defiled"). On the obverse of one of these medals is the portrait of Lodovico Lucio, of Sienna (A. Armand, *Les Médailleurs Italiens*, second edition, Paris, 1883, vol. i. p. 98, No. 2). On the obverse of the other is the portrait of Allessandro Vecchietti (1472–1532) of Florence (Armand, *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 99, No. 4).

(I.) Italian portrait medal (said to be of about 1500?).

Obv.—Head of a young man to left. Inscription: PANDVLPHVS · IANOINTIS · SVE · XXVIII.

Rev.—Human skull between what seem to be two closed doors with crosses marked on them. Inscription: O(MN)IVM · RERVM · VICISSITIVDO.

Diameter, 2·7 inches; bronze. A specimen in the Victoria and Albert Museum was obtained from the Piot sale at Paris, in 1864.

The passage in Terence (*Eunuchus*, 2. 2, 45) from which the legend on the reverse is taken is: "Omnium rerum, heus, vicissitudo est." The identity of the man, whose portrait in the 28th year of his age is represented on the obverse, is apparently unknown, and the legend seems to be blundered. I am indebted for information about this medal to Mr. A. Richmond and Mr. W. W. Watts, of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

(XI.) Here may be mentioned some Italian bronze plaques of the early part of the sixteenth century: the bust of Lucretia with a dagger in her hand by Moderno, and a larger representation of Lucretia by Andrea Briosco, surnamed Riccio. Moderno likewise represented on a circular plaque (diameter, 1·3 inches) the Roman tradition of the self-sacrifice of M. Curtius, who, on horseback and fully armed, was said to have leaped into a chasm which had appeared in the forum.

(I.) Medals of Erasmus in 1519 and 1531, with his *memento mori* device.

Obv.—Bust of Erasmus in profile to left. In the field: ER. ROT. ("Erasmus of Rotterdam"). Legend: IMAGO . AD . VIVÂ . EFFIGÎÈ . EXPRESSA . THN · KPEITTΩ · TA · ΣΥΓΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΑ · ΔΕΙΞΕΙ ("His image modelled to the living features. His writings will represent it better"). Below the bust is the date 1519.

Rev.—A man's head to left on a cubical boundary stone inscribed, TERMINVS. In the field: CONCEDO NVLLI ("I yield to none"). Legend: ΟΡΑ · ΤΕΛΟΣ · ΜΑΚΡΟΥ · ΒΙΟΥ · [68] MORS VLTIMA

[68] According to the story narrated by Plutarch in his Life of Solon, *ὅρα τέλος μακροῦ βίου* was the substance of the advice given by Solon to

LINEA RERVM ("Keep in view the end of a long life. Death is the final goal of all"). (Fig. 15.)

FIG. 15 (reduced).—From a specimen formerly in the author's collection.

Croesus, King of Lydia, as the latter afterwards, when defeated and a prisoner, explained to his conqueror, Cyrus. Ὅρα τέλος is the ordinary Greek equivalent of the Latin "Respice finem;" and like Γνῶθι σεαυτόν, it is included amongst the wise sayings of the seven wise men of Greece.

Diameter, 4·15 inches; in bronze or lead; cast. Julien Simonis, *L'Art du Médailleur en Belgique*, Bruxelles, 1900, Pl. ii. No. 3.

There are two very similar but smaller medals, both cast. One (an obverse only) bears the same date 1519 (diameter, 1·75 inches; Simonis, *op. cit.*, Pl. ii. No. 4) as the large medal, and has the inscription, ERASMVS · ROTERO · around the portrait of Erasmus. The other, the smallest of the three, is dated 1531 (diameter, 1·35 inches; Simonis, *op. cit.*, Pl. ii. No. 5), and very much resembles the largest medal in type and legends, but the features of Erasmus are slightly more sharply cut.

The large medal has been attributed to Dürer, and it is interesting that Dürer's signed engraving of Erasmus (see Fig. 16), dated 1526, bears a very similar inscription to that on the obverse of the medal. On Dürer's engraving, however, the head of Erasmus is not quite in profile, and his features are much more sharply expressed than on the medal. Moreover, the portrait on the medal is now supposed to be after a lost original by Quentin Metsys. Erasmus himself wrote that Quentin Metsys made a portrait of him, cast in metal. According to Julien Simonis (*op. cit.*, pp. 80–88), one of the above-described medals was the work of the medallist Jean Second, who probably modelled it from a medallion by Quentin Metsys now lost. I do not see why the obverse of the large medal should not be the work of Quentin Metsys himself.

The largest and the smallest of these medals of Erasmus are likewise figured in the *Museum Mazzuchellianum*, Venice, 1761, vol. i. Pl. 45 and Pl. 46. In that work it is explained that the "Terminus" (terminal head) on the reverse is an allusion, not to the great value of the

writings of Erasmus, as some have supposed, but to death, the common goal of all, *i.e.*, as the medal itself

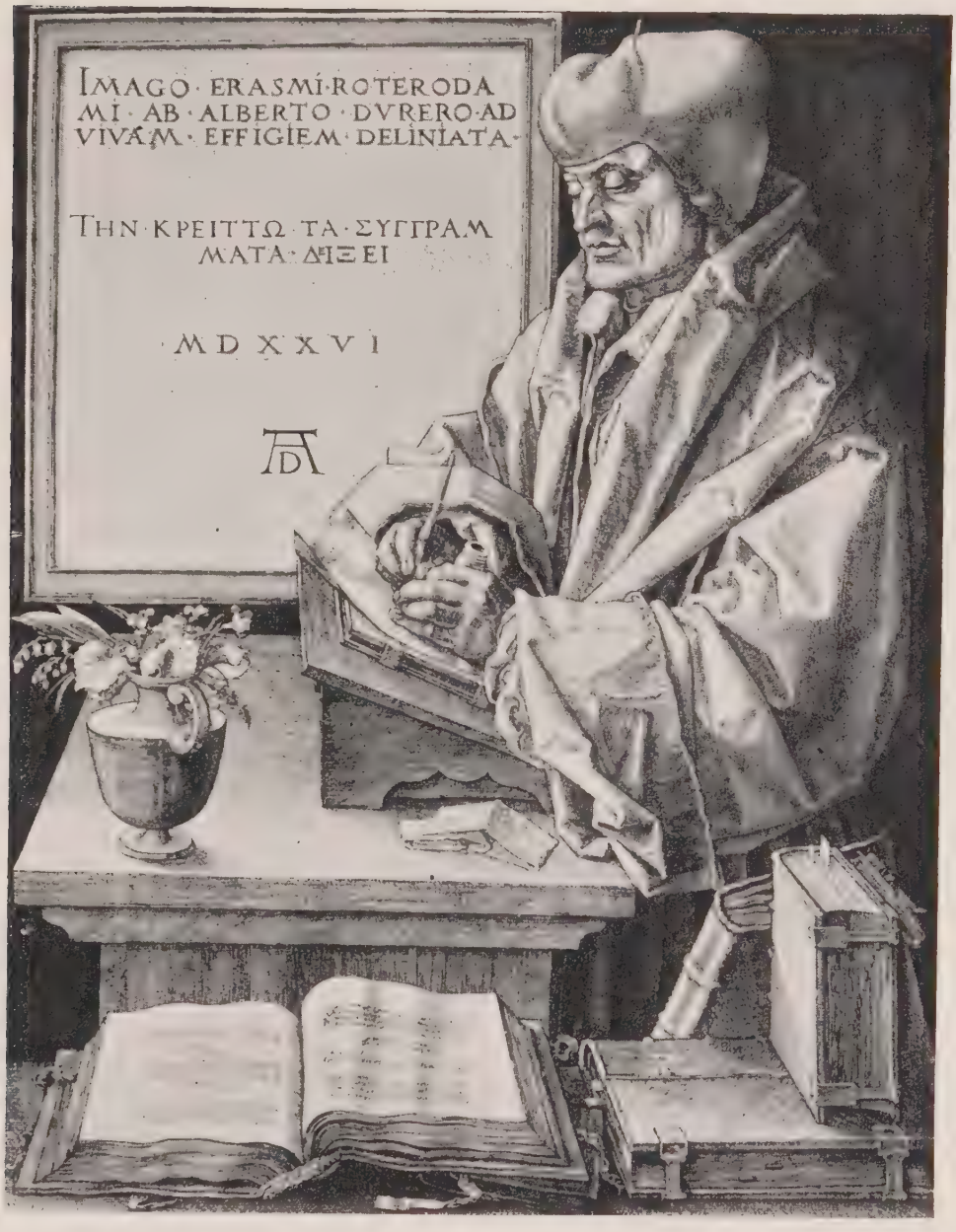

FIG. 16.—Engraving of Erasmus by Dürer. Reduced from an example in the British Museum.

tells us, "mors ultima linea rerum" (Horace, *Epist.*, Book i. 16, line 79).

A man's head on a cubical stone inscribed, TERMINVS,

with the legend, CONCEDO NVLLI or CEDO NVLLI, was the favourite device of Erasmus. In the Museum of Basel is an original sketch, which I have seen, showing a rendering of this device, by Holbein (No. 122 of the sketches in the Museum), and there is likewise a fine woodcut by Holbein, designed for a title-page to the works of Erasmus, representing Erasmus standing under a highly decorative Renaissance arch, with his right hand resting on the head of a terminal figure (or "Hermes"), on which is the inscription, TERMINVS. On a seal, which Erasmus had specially engraved for himself, the man's head on the boundary stone was represented facing, not (as on the medals) in profile, and the legend was CEDO NVLLI, not (as on the medals) CONCEDO NVLLI.[69] With this seal, which I shall illustrate later on, he sealed his last will, dated at Basel, in the house of Jerome Frobenius, 12th February, 1536; and an enlarged copy of the "TERMINVS" on this seal was placed by his heirs over the tablet where he was buried in the Cathedral of Basel (cf. R. B. Drummond, *Erasmus, his Life and Character*, London, 1873).

The "Terminus" device of Erasmus might be regarded as a "masked," "disguised," or "softened" *memento mori*, analogous to the elongated death's head which is represented on Holbein's famous picture (to which I have already alluded) painted in 1533, known as "The Ambassadors," in the London National Gallery.

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[69] This seal is figured by J. J. Jortin, together with an antique intaglio representing a terminal bust (or "Hermes"), without any inscription, from which Erasmus apparently derived his idea of adopting a terminal figure as his *memento mori* device. See J. Jortin, *Life of Erasmus*, London, 1808, vol. iii. (specimens of the handwriting of Erasmus, No. 1). In Part IV. I shall again refer to this seal of Erasmus.

(I.) *Memento mori* medal of Pietro Balanzano, of Venice (early sixteenth century).

Obv.—Head in high relief to left. Inscription: PETRO BALANZANO.

Rev.—A human skull. Inscription: NVLA EST REDENCIO (that is equivalent to "There is no escape from death").

Diameter, 2·3 inches. A bronze Italian medal of the first quarter of the sixteenth century, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Armand, *Les Médailleurs Italiens*, second edition, Paris, 1883, vol. ii. p. 128; and vol. iii. (1887), p. 205.

(II.) Medal of Tommaso Moro of Venice, Prefect of Verona 1527.

Obv.—Bust to right. Inscription: THOMAS MAVRVS VENETVS VERONAE PRAEFECTVS.

Rev.—Phoenix in flames, an emblem of the resurrection of the body and the immortality of the soul. Inscription: MORIENS. REVIVISCO. –MDXXVII.– IO. MARIA. POMEDELVS. VERON. F.

Diameter, 2·0 inches. Bronze medal by Pomedello of Verona. Armand, *Les Médailleurs Italiens*, second edition, Paris, 1883, vol. i. p. 128, No. 11.

(II.) A phoenix, with the word REVIXIT, occurs likewise on the reverse of a medal of Cardinal Christofero Madruzzo, Prince-Bishop of Trento (died in 1578), by Lorenzo Parmigiano (Armand, *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 278, No. 1).

(V.) The murder of Alexander de' Medici, the first Duke of Florence, 1537.

Alexander de' Medici was assassinated, in the name of liberty, by his kinsman Lorenzo de' Medici, called

"Lorenzino," on the night of 5th to 6th January, 1537. The following medal (which is not very rare, and for some information about which I am indebted to Mr. W. Wroth) is described by A. Armand, *Médailleurs Italiens*, second edition, Paris, vol. ii. p. 151, No. 3.

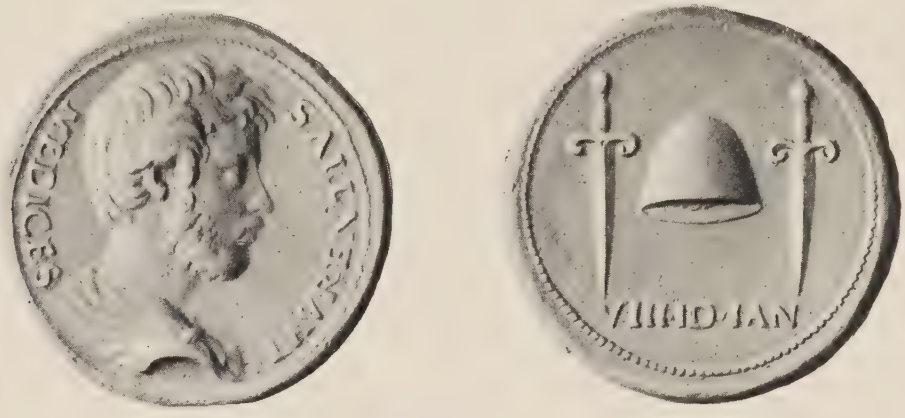

Fig. 17.

Obv.—Bare head of Lorenzino, to right. Inscription: LAVRENTIVS MEDICES.

Rev.—Cap of liberty (the Roman "pileus") between two daggers. Below: VIII · ID · IAN (6th January).

Diameter, 1·5 inches; bronze. (See Fig. 17.)

The reverse device is adopted from the reverse of the Roman denarius of Brutus (which I have already referred to) commemorating the murder of Julius Caesar on the Ides of March, 44 B.C., but the date under the cap of liberty on the Italian medal is of course different. After the murder Lorenzino fled to Venice, where Filippo Strozzi (called "the younger") greeted him as the "Tuscan Brutus." The medal, which is of the size of a Roman large bronze coin or bronze medallion, was doubtless made at that time or slightly later,—I would suggest at Padua, perhaps by Giovanni Cavino. Lorenzino was himself assassinated in 1548.

(I.) German plaque, of about 1530–1540.

There is a circular plaque (1·8 inches in diameter) of white metal, possibly the reverse for a medal, representing a lady, in the costume of the time, seated in the interior of a room, offering the breast to a baby; on the table is a death's head and on the window-sill an hour-glass. It is of good workmanship, and signed L.R., apparently by Lorenz Rosenbaum, a goldsmith and a medallist of Schaffhausen. There are specimens in both the British Museum (see Fig. 18) and the Victoria and Albert

Fig. 18.—Plaque by Lorenz Rosenbaum. From an original in the British Museum.

Museum. The design is taken from a well-known engraving (already alluded to in Part I.: see Fig. 4) by Barthel Beham (1502–1540), which, though it may be intended to represent the Madonna and Child, seems likewise to suggest thoughts of the beginning and the inevitable end of life. Anyhow, two other engravings by B. Beham, representing human skulls (in one of these engravings there are three, in the other four skulls) and a baby with an hour-glass were certainly meant to suggest such thoughts and illustrate the line of Manilius:

"Nascentes morimur, finisque ab origine pendet;" or, as a physiologist has expressed it, "The first cry of the newly born child is its first step towards the grave."

(II. or III.) Here we may for convenience mention a uniface portrait medal by Lorenz Rosenbaum, dated 1531, the portrait (bare head to right) being apparently that of the artist himself. The inscription is VT · MORTVVS · VIVEREM——VIVO · HIC · MORITVRVS. Signed L.R. 1531. The medal, which is cast in lead (diameter, 1·75 inches), is described and figured by E. Merzbacher, "Beiträge zur Kritik der deutschen Kunstmedaillen," *Mittheilungen der Bayerischen Numismatischen Gesellschaft*, München, 1900, vol. 19, p. 8, and Pl. i. Fig. 4. I am indebted for this reference to Mr. L. Forrer. Lorenz Rosenbaum, probably a son of the goldsmith Conrad Rosenbaum, was born at Schaffhausen, but from 1539 to 1546 worked as a goldsmith in Augsburg. The meaning of the legend is either: "Vivo hic moriturus," "I live here about to die," *i.e.* "This is my portrait before death;" "Ut mortuus viverem," "(I made this portrait) that I might live after death"—or else: "I live here (on earth) about to die (*i.e.* prepared for death) so that I may live after death;" but in the latter case one would have expected "vivam" instead of "viverem." Cf. the mottoes: "Vive ut vivas," and "Vive ut postea vivas."

(II. and XIV.) Memorial medal of Queen Dorothea of Denmark (mother of Frederick II), (1560).

Obv.—Profile head of Queen Dorothea to right. Inscription: DOROTE REGINA DANIE MDLX.

Rev.—Hour-glass over skull and crossed bones. Inscription: BEDENCK DAS ENDT VND DIE STVNDE. (Fig. 19.)

Diameter, 1·1 inches; silver gilt. *Danske Mynter*

og Medailler i den Kongelige Samling, Copenhagen, 1791, p. 212, No. 4, Pl. xii. No. 5. The meaning of the reverse inscription, which is similar to some inscriptions engraved on old-fashioned sundials, is doubtless that of Thomas à Kempis in

Fig. 19.

De Imitatione Christi, Book I. chap. xxv. 11: "Memento semper finis, et quia perditum non redit tempus."

(I.) Medal of Onophrius Korn (1562).

Obv.—His bust, to left, with inscription.

Rev.—Male figure, holding hour-glass, leaning on an altar or tomb (on which is a death's head) inscribed: RESPICE FINEM. The whole reverse device is in an architectural "setting."

This medal, by a German artist signing himself S. W., is figured by A. Erman, *Deutsche Medailleure*, Berlin, 1884, Pl. vii. No. 3.

(XI.) Medal of Goffredo Franco (about 1565).

Obv.—Bust to left. Inscription: IOFREDVS FRANCVS. Artist's signature, P. P. R.

Rev.—A nude man standing on a pedestal in the middle of the sea, holding a rod in his left hand, his right foot resting on a skull. Inscription: POTIVS. MORI. QVAM. ANIMO. IMMVTARI ("Rather death than change one's mind").

Diameter, 2·2 inches. A medal by Pietro Paolo Galeotti, called "Romano." Armand, *Les Médailleurs Italiens*, second edition, Paris, 1883, vol. i. p. 229, No. 7.

(XI.) The same reverse type and legend occur on a medal of Alberto Litta, dated 1565, attributed to the same artist (Galeotti), though not bearing any signature (Armand, *Les Médailleurs Italiens*, Paris, vol. iii. (1887), p. 112).

(I. and VIII.) Medal of Sebastian Zah, of Augsburg (about 1571).

Obv.—His bust to right, with bare head and pointed beard. Inscription: SEBASTIAN . ZAH . ANNO . AET . XXXXV. (Artist's signature) AN. AB.

Rev.—A man in rich costume, with feathers in his cap. Inscription: RESPICE FINEM.

Diameter, 1·6 inches. By Antonio Abondio, the younger (1538–1591). Armand, *Les Médailleurs Italiens*, second edition, Paris, 1883, vol. i. p. 274, No. 34.

(XI.) Massacre of St. Bartholomew (1572).

The medal of Pope Gregory XIII, commemorating this event, bears the signature of the medallist, Federigo Bonzagna, called "Parmigiano."

Obv.—Bust of the Pope, to left, in cape and skull-cap. Legend: GREGORIVS · XIII · PONT · MAX · AN · I · Below the bust, artist's signature, F. P.

Rev.—Destroying angel to right, holding sword and cross; men and women dead, wounded, and flying before her. Legend: VGONOTTORVM · STRAGES · 1572.

Diameter, 1·25 inches; struck; silver, bronze gilt. A. Armand, *Les Médailleurs Italiens*, second edition, Paris, 1883, vol. i. p. 226, No. 37. Many restruck examples and later copies exist;

the modern English copies, of a somewhat larger size, being those most unlike the originals.

The Massacre of the Huguenots is commemorated in the same spirit by Vasari's fresco in the Sala Regia of the Vatican at Rome, though the inscription under the painting has been obliterated.

Two French medals of Charles IX (one with the inscription: VIRTVS IN REBELLES, on the reverse) refer to the same event. See *Médailles Françaises dont les coins sont conservés au Musée Monétaire*, Paris, 1892, p. 10, Nos. 35, 36. Many restruck specimens exist.

(I.) Medal of Gabrielle Fiamma, of Venice, Bishop of Chioggia in 1584.

Obv.—His bust to right; in front, a human skull. Inscription: MEMINISSE IVVABIT.

Rev.—Inscription in twenty-five lines.

Diameter, 3·2 inches; a bronze cast medal of the second half of the sixteenth century, by Andrea Cambi, called "Il Bombarda," of Cremona. Armand, *Les Médailleurs Italiens*, second edition, Paris, 1883, vol. ii. p. 227; and vol. iii. (1887), p. 96.

The skull on the obverse may be intended as a *memento mori* device, but the obverse inscription refers apparently to Fiamma's passing safely through trials and difficulties of life: "Forsan et haec olim meminisse juvabit" ("Perhaps some day it will be pleasant to remember even these happenings"—Virgil, *Aen.*, lib. i. 203).

(XI.) Medal of Faustina Sforza, wife of the Marquis of Caravaggio Muzio (second half of the sixteenth century).

Obv.—Bust to right. Inscription: FAVSTINA · SFORTIA . MARCH · CARAVAGII.

Rev.—An ermine-like animal pursued by a huntsman and a dog. Inscription: MORI POTIVS QVAM FOEDARI ("Better to die than be defiled;" "Rather death than dishonour"). Artist's signature in incuse letters: PETRVS . PAVLVS . ROM.

Diameter, 3·0 inches. Medal by Pietro Paolo Galeotti, called "Romano." Armand, *Les Médailleurs Italiens*, second edition, Paris, 1883, vol. i. p. 234, No. 35.

The reverse design on this medal refers to the power of some of the "mustelidae" (*e.g.* the skunk) to save their lives by ejecting a fluid of intolerable odour, which compels their pursuers to abandon the chase. The meaning of the reverse is therefore, "It is preferable to die than to dishonour one's self by committing a disgraceful action;" "Honesta mors turpi vitâ potior" (Tacitus, *Vita Agricolae*, xxxiii.); "Mors potius maculâ."

(I.) A *memento mori* reverse for a medal, by the

Fig. 20.

Silesian medallist, Tobias Wolff (second half of the sixteenth century), is figured in A. Erman's *Deutsche Medailleure*, Berlin, 1884, p. 69. A naked child, holding a

flower, seated by a human skull and bones; in the background, a tree with a withered leafless branch and a vigorous branch rich in leaves. Inscription: SIT NOMEN DOMINI BENEDICTVM. (See Fig. 20.) This design, which bears the artist's signature, ⩔, occurs as a reverse with an obverse of much later date. The design obviously illustrates the frequently quoted line of Manilius: "Nascentes morimur, finisque ab origine pendet." It also illustrates the eternal succession of new life springing from the old.

(II., VII., XVI.) Plaque representing Death yielding to Valour (or Virtue).

Fig. 21.

In the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford there is a sixteenth-century plaque of white metal (circular; diameter, 2·8 inches) with figures of Death and Valour (or Virtue) in very low relief. Death (on the left) is represented by a skeleton, crowned and holding a scythe, standing in an attitude of fear or submission before a fully armed Minerva-like female figure approaching (on the right).

Above the skeleton is the word MORS; above the armed figure, VIRTVS. Death may here represent destruction and ruin in an enterprise, or merely imminent defeat and death in warfare, which can sometimes be prevented by courage. The device may, however, be an allegorical representation of death being "swallowed up in victory" (St. Paul), that is to say, in a sense, being overcome by virtue. "Vivit post funera Virtus" is a Latin saying which has been adopted as a motto by several families, and is inscribed on the monument of Dr. Caius (died 1573) in Caius College Chapel, Cambridge. For permission to illustrate this plaque, I am indebted to Mr. Hogarth and Mr. Bell, of the Ashmolean Museum, who kindly sent me a cast (see Fig. 21).

(II.) A memorial medal of Adolph Occo III (1524–1606), a physician of Augsburg, has the following inscription on the reverse: VITA MIHI CHRISTVS MORS ERIT IPSA LVCRVM ("To me to live is Christ, and to die is gain"—*St. Paul's Epist. to the Philippians*, chapter i. verse 21). C. A. Rudolphi, *Numismata Virorum de Rebus Medicis, &c.*, Duisburg's edition of 1862, p. 110.

(II.) Another memorial medal of the same physician, communicated to me by Dr. H. R. Storer, has the following inscriptions on the reverse: ABSORPTA EST MORS IN VICTORIAM ("Death is swallowed up in victory"—*St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians*, chapter xv. verse 54); and IPSE IVBET MORTIS TE MEMINISSE DEVS ("God Himself commands you to remember death"—Martial, *Epigram*, lib. ii. No. 59.[70] Compare *Psalm* xc. verse 12).

[70] "Frange toros, pete vina, rosas cape, tinguere nardo:
Ipse jubet mortis te meminisse deus."

(II.) Memorial medal of Nicholas and Dorothy Wadham (1618?), the founders of Wadham College, Oxford.

Obv.—Bust of Nicholas Wadham, three-quarters, to right, head bare, in ruff and plain cloak. Inscription: WHEN CHRIST WHO IS OVR LIFE SHAL APPEARE.

Rev.—Bust of Dorothy Wadham, three-quarters, to left, in damasked gown, stiff ruff, and broad-brimmed hat. Inscription: WE SHAL APPEARE WITH HIM IN GLORY.

A narrow wreath, united by a skull at each side and at each end, forms a border on both sides. Oval medal, consisting of two plates or shells soldered together. Diameter, 2·15 × 1·8 inches. *Medallic Illustrations*, London, 1885, vol. i. p. 220, No. 73.

Nicholas Wadham, of a family settled at Merrifield, in Somersetshire, died in 1609, at the age of 77 years. Dorothy Wadham, his wife, died in 1618, at the age of 84 years. She was a daughter of Sir William Petre, Principal Secretary of State to Queen Elizabeth. The first stone of Wadham College was laid on July 31, 1610. In regard to the legend on this medal, cf. *St. John* xi. 25, 26; also the motto: "Mors Christi, mors mortis mihi."

(V. and XI.) Execution of John van Olden Barneveldt, Grand Pensionary of Holland (1619).

There are three different medals commemorating the death of Barneveldt, each of which bears his portrait and name on the obverse, and an inscription on the reverse, referring to his high character and the injustice of his execution. These medals are described and figured in G. van Loon's *Histoire métallique des Pays-Bas*, French edition, 1732, vol. ii. pp. 109–111.

(II. and VIII.) Danish *memento mori* medal (1634).

Obv.—Inscription in seven lines: NAAR DU : MEENE. AD : FLORERE BEST SAA . ER . DØDEN DIN : WISSE GEST ·:· ("When you think you are blooming best, Then is death your certain guest").

FIG. 22.

Rev.—Skull and crossed bones, with hour-glass (surmounted by a ball to represent human life) and ears of corn. Inscription: HVOR . DV . DIG : WENDE ER . DØDEN . DIN . ENDE ("Wherever you wend, Death is your end"). In the field, the date 1634. (Fig. 22.)

Diameter, 1·0 inch; copper gilt; in the Royal Collection at Copenhagen. *Danske Mynter og Medailler i den Kongelige Samling*, Copenhagen, 1791, p. 331, No. 842, Pl. xxii. No. 12.

I do not know whether the ears of corn associated with the skull and bones on the reverse of this medal refer to the eternal succession of life and death in the world, or to the doctrine of the immortality of the soul. Perhaps the device refers to the New Testament parable of the corn and the tares (Matt. xiii. 24–30), and the ears of corn signify the good, who are to be separated from the bad (the tares) on the judgment day. Corn occurs again associated with a skull on a Danish memorial medal of George Hojer, 1670 (described later on).

(II. and VIII.) Danish *memento mori* medal (1634).

Obv.—Bust of a young woman, with coronet on her head, to right. Inscription: (in outer circle:) LERE ·

OS · AT · BETENCKE · AT · WI · SKULLE · (and in inner circle:) DØE · AT WI · MA · BLIFE · PSAL · 90 ("Teach us to remember that we must die, so that we may become wise," *Psalm* xc. verse 12, after Luther's translation). In the field to right: IEG ER SKIØN ("I am beautiful").

LERR OS AT MM BETENCKE AT WI SKULLE
DØE AT WI MA BLIFE PSAL 90
IEG ER SKIØN
MINE DAGE HAFFE VERIT SNARERE END EN LØBERE
DE FLYDE BORT OCH HAFFE INTET IOB 9
IEG WAR SKIÖN 1634

Fig. 23.

Rev.—Skeleton standing by a table resting left hand on an hour-glass. Inscription: (in outer circle:) MINE · DAGE · HAFFE · VERIT · SNARERE · END · EN · LØBERE . (and in inner circle :) DE · FLYDE · BORT · OCH · HAFFE · INTET IOB 9 ("My days are swifter than a post: they flee away, they see no good"—*Job*, chapter ix. verse 25). In the field, below the table: IEG WAR SKIØN 1634 ("I was beautiful, 1634"). (Fig. 23.)

Diameter, 1·75 inches; gold; in the Royal Collection at Copenhagen. *Danske Mynter og Medailler*, *loc. cit.*, p. 331, No. 841; Pl. xxii. No. 11.

These last two medals (specimens of which my father, Sir H. Weber, kindly examined during a recent visit to Copenhagen) are said to have been struck on the death of Anna Cathrina, the eldest daughter of King Christian IV of Denmark by his morganatic wife, Christina Munk (or Munck). The lady in question (born in 1618) was betrothed to Frantz Rantzow (or Rantzau),

Governor of the Royal Palace, when the latter was (apparently accidentally) drowned in the moat of the Royal Palace of Rosenborg in 1632. She is supposed to have died of grief in the following year (1633). *Vide* F. C. Schønau, *Leben und letzte Stunden Christina von Munk*, German translation, Copenhagen and Leipzig, 1757, p. 211.

The last described medal (with words meaning "I am

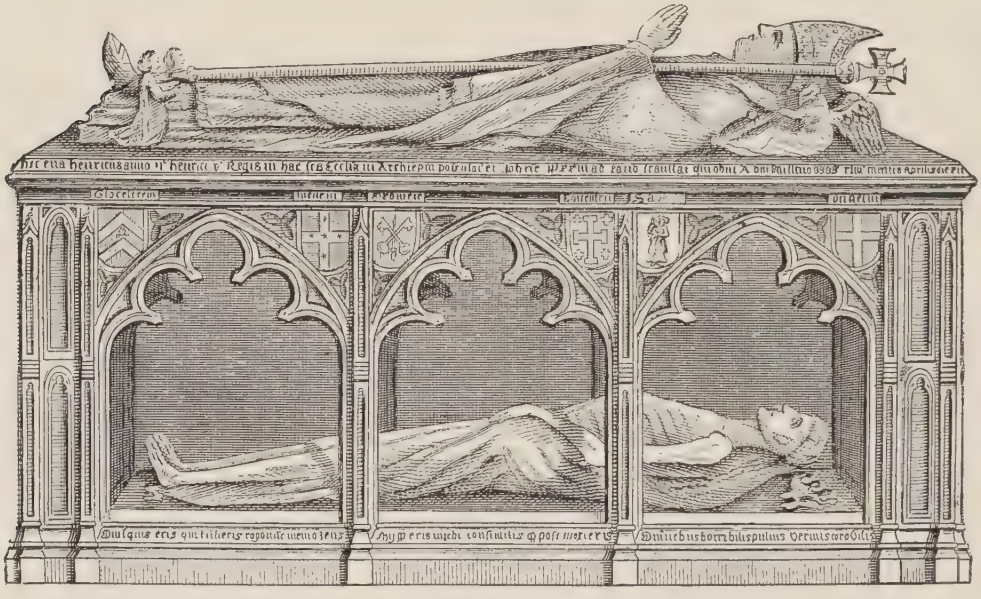

Fig. 24.

beautiful" on the portrait side, and "I was beautiful" on the skeleton side) may be compared to certain sepulchral monuments designed to serve as a *memento mori* to the living as well as a memorial of the dead. As a typical example of such monuments, we may instance the fine one in Canterbury Cathedral of Henry Chichele (died 1443), Archbishop of Canterbury, and founder of All Souls' College, Oxford. On a table, under an elaborate canopy, is a recumbent figure, representing the Archbishop during life in full canonicals. On a slab below the table an emaciated dead body (wrongly described as

a skeleton)[71] is represented (see Fig. 24). Round the verge at the bottom of the monument is the jingling *memento mori* inscription—

> "Quisquis eris qui transieris rogo memoreris,
> Tu quod eris mihi consimilis qui post morieris,
> Omnibus horribilis, pulvis, vermis, caro vilis."

With this inscription may be compared that on an analogous monument of a bishop in Exeter Cathedral—

> "Ista figura docet nos omnes meditari
> Qualiter ipsa nocet mors quando venit dominari;"

and also the following from a sepulchral monument in the Church of the Celestines at Herverlé, near Louvain—"Nunc putredo terrae et cibus verminorum." Many sepulchral monuments of the kind[72] are referred to in Richard Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments of Great Britain*, London, 1786–1796, vol. i. pp. cx.–cxii., and vol. ii. pp. cxviii.–cxx. Compare also T. J. Pettigrew's *Chronicles of the Tombs*, London, 1857, pp. 62–68: "Admonitory Epitaphs."

(II. and VIII.) German *memento mori* medal of about 1634.

Obv.—Bust of a young woman with coronet on her head to right. Inscription: QVAE SIM POST TERGA

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[71] See R. Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments*, vol. ii. (1796), p. 129.

[72] With sepulchral monuments of this kind, those of Greek times, with their simple (and in the best examples, very beautiful) so-called "parting scenes" may be contrasted. But on the mural paintings of Etruscan tombs, the representation of the brutal-looking Etruscan "Charun" (as the messenger of death), and sometimes other horrible Gorgon-like "demons," holding snakes, &c., invest death and the parting scenes depicted with horrors equal to those suggested by Mediaeval art and legends.

VIDEBIS ("Who I am you will see on the reverse").

Rev.—Skeleton standing by a table, resting left hand on an hour-glass. Inscription: SIC NVNC: PVLCHERRIMA QVONDAM ("Like this now; very beautiful once"). In the field below the table: CVM PRIVIL: CAES: C.M. (Fig. 25.)

Fig. 25.

Oval medal, 1·5 × 1·2 inches; illustrated in Forrer's *Biographical Dictionary of Medallists*, London, vol. iii. p. 542.

The German medallist, Christian Maler, generally added the words "cum privil." to his signature C.M., as he has done on the reverse of this medal, because he held the Imperial permission to strike medals in his own house. The designs of obverse and reverse are evidently copied, as Mr. C. F. Gebert of Nürnberg kindly pointed out to me, from those on the medal last described, which is supposed to relate to the death of Anna Cathrina, daughter of King Christian IV of Denmark. The legends on the medal may be compared with inscriptions on memorial rings, &c., such as: "Quod es fui, quod sum eris," "Hodie mihi cras tibi." I have to thank Mr. L. Forrer for the kind loan of the blocks for the illustration (Fig. 25). Another reverse with the same obverse will be described in Part IV.

(I.) A badge of the guild of physicians and surgeons at Delft (1635) bears on the obverse a skull and crossed bones, with the inscriptions: MEMENTO MORI and DELPHENS. S(igillum) COLLEGII MEDIC & CHIRURG. The device is that on the seal of the guild in question. H. R. Storer, *Amer. Journ. Num.*, April, 1901, p. 111, No. 1614.

(II.) Memorial medal on the death of Sir John Hotham (1645).

Obv.—Bust of Hotham to right; behind his neck, a minute skull, surmounted by a crown. Inscription: MORS MIHI VITA.

Rev.—Shield of arms of Sir John Hotham impaling those of his fifth wife, Sarah, daughter of Thomas Anlaby, of Elton, in Yorkshire.

Diameter, 1·25 inches; cast and chased in silver. *Medallic Illustrations*, 1885, vol. i. p. 314.

Sir John Hotham was Parliamentary Commander of Hull, but became dissatisfied with the proceedings of the Parliamentary party, and was with his son suspected of treason. They were both condemned and executed on Tower Hill.

(II. and V.) Memorial medal on the death of King Charles I of England (1649).

Obv.—Bust of Charles I to left. Legend: CAROLVS D. G. &c.

Rev.—A skull between the letters C. R.; over it, a celestial crown with a label GLORIA; below it, an earthly crown with the label VANITAS. Legend: BEATAM . ET . ETERNAM . SPLENDIDAM . AT . GRAVEM. The legend signifies: "(I receive) a blessed and eternal (crown). (I

relinquish) one splendid but burdensome." Floral border on both sides.

Oval medal; diameter, 0·8 by 0·7 inch; cast and chased in silver. *Medallic Illustrations*, 1885, vol. i. p. 344.

The device on the reverse is illustrated by the following passage in the *Icon Basilike*: "I shall not want the heavy and envyed crownes of this world, when my God hath mercifully Crowned and Consummated his graces with Glory, and exchanged the shadows of my earthly Kingdomes among men, for the substance of that Heavonly Kingdome with himselfe." The device on one of the memorial rings (described in Part IV.) on the King's death is similar to that on the reverse of this medal.

The following four pieces belong to the class of so-called "Moralische Pfenninge" struck at Basel in the seventeenth century. They were apparently designed to be given as presents, sometimes probably in connexion with funerals. The medallist, whose signature on these pieces is F. F., was doubtless Friedrich Fechter or one of his family (F. F. standing either for Friedrich Fechter or for "Fechter fecit"). In connexion with *memento mori* medalets of this class, it must not be forgotten that the devastating epidemics of disease in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries gave them an increased significance at the time when they were issued.

(I. and VIII.)

Obv.—Basilisk, with leaf-like wings, holding shield bearing the arms of Basel.

Rev.—Skull on bone, with worm; rose-tree with flower and buds growing over it. Inscription: HEUT

RODT MORN DODT ("To-day red, to-morrow dead"). In exergue, an hour-glass and the engraver's signature, F.F. (Fig. 26.)

Fig. 26.

Diameter, 0·95 inch; struck in silver. R. S. Poole, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Swiss Coins in the South Kensington Museum* (the Townshend Collection of Swiss Coins), London, 1878, p. 45, No. 15.

(I. and VIII.)

Fig. 27.

Obv.—View of the city of Basel.

Rev.—Skull and crossed bones; above which, rose-tree with flower and buds; beneath, hour-glass. Inscription: HEUT . RODT . MORN . DODT ("To-day red, to-morrow dead"). (Fig. 27.)

Diameter, 0·8 inch; struck in silver. R. S. Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 45, No. 16.

(I. and VIII.)

Obv.—Branch with three roses. Inscription: HEV SENID WIER ROT ("Heut sind wir roth"—"To-day we are red").

Rev.—Dead stag to left, transfixed with arrow, beneath trees. Inscription: UND MORGEN TODT ("And to-morrow dead"). (Fig. 28.)

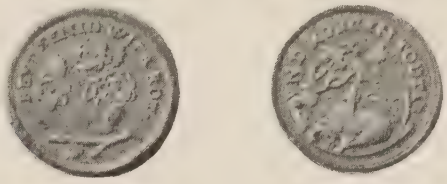

Fig. 28.

Diameter, 0·6 inch; struck in silver. R. S. Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 45, No. 17.

(II.)

Fig. 29.

Obv.—View of the city of Basel.

Rev.—Phoenix in burning nest (emblem of the resurrection of the body, and the immortality of the soul). Inscription: MORIAR UT VIVAM ("I will die that I may live"). (Fig. 29.)

Diameter, 1·2 inches; struck in silver. R. S. Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 46, No. 20.

(I.) An English seventeenth-century *memento mori* medalet (*circa* 1650).

Obv.—A child seated on the ground, leaning on a skull. On either side, a flower. In the background, a building with spires, apparently meant to represent a church. The whole type surrounded by a serpent with its tail in its mouth. No legend.

Rev.—Legend in two circles with a rose in the centre: (in outer circle), AS . SOONE : AS . WEE . TO . BEE . BEGVNNE : (and in inner circle:)

Fig. 30.

WE . DID . BEGINNE : TO . BE : VNDONE : (Fig. 30.)

Diameter, 1·25 inches; struck in bronze.

A specimen, which I afterwards presented to the British Museum Collection, was described by me in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1892 (Third Series, Vol. XII. p. 253), where I alluded to its resemblance in style of workmanship and in certain details of execution to the medal commemorating John Lilburne's trial in 1649 (*Medallic Illustrations*, 1885, vol. i. p. 385, No. 3). A similar piece, possibly from another die, but with the same legend, was described by J. Atkins (*The Coins and Tokens of the Possessions and Colonies of the British Empire*, London, 1889, p. 250) as a jeton or token supposed to have been issued by Sir Walter Raleigh for the Settlement made by him in Virginia, 1584.

There is another variety (see Fig. 31) with a slight difference in the legend, a specimen of which was kindly shown me by the late Sir John Evans, to whom it belonged. It is of decidedly rougher and more careless workmanship, somewhat smaller (diameter, 1·15 inches), and reading: (in outer circle:) AS . SOONE . AS WEE .

TO . BEE . BEGVNN (and in inner circle:) WE . DID . BEGIN . TO . BE . VNDONN. This variety is figured in the Catalogue of the Fonrobert Col-

Fig. 31.

lection, by Adolph Weyl (Berlin, 1878, p. 336, No. 3728).

I think these pieces may have been produced to be

Fig. 32.—Design from Wither's *Emblems*, 1635.

distributed at funerals. The obverse design and the legend on the reverse were evidently derived from an illustration (see Fig. 32) in G. Wither's *Emblems* (London,

1635, folio, p. 45); and the legend is an English rendering of the well-known Latin hexameter line: "Nascentes morimur finisque ab origine pendet" (Manilius, *Astronomicon*, iv. 16). Wither may have derived the idea of the child leaning on the skull from one of Giovanni Boldu's medals already referred to, or from one of Barthel Beham's engravings representing a child and skulls.

The perpetual springing up of new life to replace the old life which is decaying, is indicated on these medalets by the flowers and by the serpent with its tail in its mouth, an emblem of eternity. Cf. *Ecclesiastes* i. 4. As Schiller (*Wilhelm Tell*, 1804) puts it—

> "Das Alte stürzt, es ändert sich die Zeit,
> Und neues Leben blüht aus den Ruinen."

(I.) Halfpenny token of John Brearcliffe or Briercliffe, of Halifax (*circa* 1670).

Fig. 33.

Obv.—Inscription in five lines: *John Brearcliffe in Halifax his halfe Penny.*

Rev.—A skull and crossed bones, with the inscription: RESPICE . FINEM, on a label above the skull. (Fig. 33.)

Diameter, 0·8 inch; struck in copper or bronze. G. C. Williamson's edition of Boyne's *Trade Tokens*, London, 1891, vol. ii. p. 1317, No. 104.

John Brearcliffe was a surgeon and antiquary of Halifax, where he died in 1682, at the age of sixty-three years. The device on the reverse of this token is one of the commonest and simplest *memento mori* devices of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Shakespeare refers to a similar device, when, in the Second Part of *Henry IV* (act ii. scene 4), he makes Falstaff say, "Do not speak like a death's head; do not bid me remember mine end."

(XIII.) Memorial medal on the death of George Hojer (1670).

Obv.—Skull, lamp, and corn. On a ribbon above is the inscription: *Obiit Amstelodami 26 Aprillis* CIↃIↃCLXX. Below: *Mors omnibus aequa.*

Rev.—Inscription in six lines: *P M Cl^ss Doct^ss Viri Georgii Hojer Commissarii Regis Daniae* VITA EST MEDITATIO ("To the pious memory of the most illustrious and learned man, George Hojer, Commissary of the King of Denmark.—Life is Meditation").

Oval, 2·1 by 1·85 inches. Illustrated in *Danske Mynter og Medailler i den Kongelige Samling*, Copenhagen, 1791 (Coins and Medals of Christian V), Pl. 62, No. 3.

The corn with the skull and lamp on the obverse of this medal evidently has the same signification as that associated with the death's head and hour-glass on a Danish medal of 1634, already described and illustrated (see Fig. 22).

(V. and XI.) Murder of the brothers Jan and Cornelius De Witt, at the Hague, 1672.

There are seven medals commemorating the murder of the De Witts. All of these are figured and described in

G. van Loon's work, *Histoire métallique des Pays-Bas*, French edition, 1732, vol. 3, pp. 81–85. The largest of these medals (diameter, 2·75 inches), signed by a medallist, "Aury" or "Avry" (signature: AVRY F.),[73] bears on the obverse the portraits of the two De Witts facing each other; the reverse design represents their murder by the populace in the guise of a many-headed monster. There is a fine specimen of this medal struck in gold in the British Museum Collection. On the reverse of one of the other medals, the dead bodies of the two brothers are shown fastened to a post.

(I. and II.) Memorial medal on the death of Anne Eldred (1678).

Obv.—Armorial shield. Legend: ANNE · THE · WIFE · OF · IO : ELDRED · ESQ. DIED · MAR · THE · 31 · 1678 . AGED · 72.

Rev.—A veiled female figure seated, facing, holding a skull, and resting her head upon her hand supported by a pedestal, on which stands an urn. Legend: A WISE WOMAN BVILDETH HER HOVSE.

Diameter, 2·0 inches; a hollow medal, cast and chased in silver, in high relief, of rather coarse workmanship. *Medallic Illustrations*, 1885, vol. i. p. 571; Lady Evans, *Numismatic Chronicle*, Fourth Series, 1908, Vol. VIII. p. 178.

The Anne Eldred commemorated on this medal was the wife of John Eldred (who died November 16, 1682), of Olivers, in Essex, and was the daughter and co-heir of Thomas Godman, of Leatherhead, Surrey. For further

[73] On comparing this medal with a medal of the French Jesuit statesman, Michel Le Tellier, dated 1679, and signed AVRY F., I agree with Miss Agnes Baldwin that both of them are the work of the same medallist, who was probably a Frenchman, or resided in France, not in the Netherlands.

details, see Lady Evans, "Memorial Medal of Anne Eldred," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1908, *loc. cit.*

(I.) Josias Nicolson. Memorial medal on his death (1683–84).

Obv.—Bust of Nicolson, three-quarters, to left, with the legend: IN REMEMBRANCE OF IOSIAS NICOLSON. The legend is divided by four death's heads.

Rev.—Death leaning on a spade, with the legend (incuse): MEMENTO MORI.

Diameter, 2·15 inches; made of two plates of silver, cast and chased, in high relief and of somewhat rude workmanship. In the collection of the late Sir John Evans. *Medallic Illustrations*, 1885, vol. i. p. 597.

In regard to what is known about this Josias Nicolson and his family, see Lady Evans's article in the *Numismatic Chronicle* (Fourth Series, Vol. IX. p. 241), where the medal is well illustrated.

(I.) Memorial medal on the death of King Charles II of England (1685).

Obv.—Time seated to right, on a tomb, with one foot on a skull, holding in one hand a scythe and hour-glass, and extending a laurel wreath in the other. Legend: TO · THE · COLD · TOMB · ALL · HEADS · MVST · COME.

Rev.—Inscription: KING · CHARLES · THE · SECOND · AETAT · 55 · OBIIT · FEBRV · 6 · ANNO · DOM · 1684. (The date is according to the old style.)

Diameter, 1·55 inches; struck in silver and copper. *Medallic Illustrations*, 1885, vol. i. p. 601. There are two varieties, differing from each other only in the arrangement of the legend on the obverse.

This legend on the obverse is taken from James Shirley's *The Contention of Ajax and Ulysses* (1659)—

> "Your heads must come
> To the cold tomb;
> Only the actions of the just
> Smell sweet, and blossom in their dust."

A specimen of the second variety, in the British Museum Collection, has had the reverse inscription erased, and another inscription engraved in its place, commemorating the death, in 1702, of Bartholomew Gidley, of Gidley, in Devon. Specimens, thus altered, were probably distributed at the funeral of Bartholomew Gidley.

(VIII.) Memorial medal on the death of King Charles II of England (1685).

Obv.—Bust of Charles II to right. Legend: CAROLUS II D. G., etc.

Rev.—Sea, with setting sun. Legend: OMNIA ORTA OCCIDUNT. In exergue, MDCLXXXV.

Diameter, 1·95 inches; struck in silver or (as in a specimen which belonged to me) in white metal. *Medallic Illustrations*, 1885, vol. i. p. 601.

The reverse legend, referring to the dissolution of all created things, is derived from Sallust, *Jugurtha*, 2, and may be compared with *Ecclesiastes*, chapter i. verses 4, 5: "One generation passeth away, and another generation cometh. . . . The sun also ariseth and the sun goeth down, and hasteth to his place where he arose."

(V.) Execution of Monmouth and Argyle (1685).

Obv.—Bust of King James II of England, with his titles, &c.

Rev.—A pedestal inscribed: AMBITIO MALESUADA RUIT; on the pedestal, Justice, trampling on a serpent, weighs three crowns against the sword, the torch, and the serpent of discord. At her feet lie the bodies of Monmouth and Argyle; their heads are on blocks inscribed: IACOBUS DE MONTMOUT—ARCHIBALD D'ARGYL. Above, the sun. On one side, lightning darting against troops at Sedgemoor. On the other side, two heads fixed over the gates of the Tower of London.

Diameter, 2·4 inches; struck in silver and white metal. *Medallic Illustrations*, London, 1885, vol. i. p. 615, No. 27.

This medal is by R. Arondeaux, a Flemish medallist, of the end of the seventeenth century. There are other medals commemorating the defeat and execution of Monmouth. One of them (*Medallic Illustrations*, *loc. cit.*, No. 26) presents the rebellion in a different light. It bears the portrait of Monmouth on the obverse, and, on the reverse, his head spouting blood, with the legend: HUNC SANGUINEM LIBO DEO LIBERATORI.

(XI.) Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, by Louis XIV, 1685.—Persecution and Martyrdom of Huguenots.

A medal commemorating the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes bears on the obverse a figure of the Pope seated on the beast with seven heads, holding the keys in his left hand and wielding a thunderbolt with his right hand. On the reverse is a scene representing the execution and persecution of Protestants in France, with the inscription: EX MARTYRIIS PALMAE. Diameter, 2·25 inches; struck in silver.

This and two other medals on the same subject are described and figured by G. van Loon, in his *Histoire*

métallique des Pays-Bas (French edition), 1732, vol. 3, p. 312, Nos. 1–3.

(II.) Seventeenth-century ornamental memorial plate (1688).

Lady Evans has kindly shown me a small engraved and enamelled plate, the design on which is oval, measuring 1·75 by 2·0 inches. On a shield-shaped compartment, the following inscription is engraved: "James Son of Ben^{j} Warren and Mary Denew ob: 22^{d} March 168$\frac{7}{8}$ aged 5 years. Dreamed 48 hours before he dyed that he had Wings and Flew to HEAUEN." Above the inscription are two cupids supporting a crown.

(II. and VI.) Memorial on the death of Marshal Schomberg at the Battle of the Boyne (1690).

Obv.—Bust of Marshal Schomberg, three-quarters, to right. Legend: FRIDERICUS MARESCHALCUS SCHOMBERG, &c. Artist's signature on truncation, P. H. M. (Philipp Heinrich Müller).

Rev.—Schomberg, in Roman dress, resting on a shield ornamented with the Christian monogram, plants, like another Hercules, his club, which takes root and flourishes as an olive-tree, &c.

Diameter, 1·95 inches; struck in silver, &c., or (as a draughtsman) in wood.

For a more complete description of the reverse of this medal, see *Medallic Illustrations*, 1885, vol. i. p. 717, No. 139. The edge bears the inscription: PRO RELIGIONE ET LIBERTATE MORI, VIVERE EST, with the initials of Friedrich Kleinert, who is said to have been the first medallist in Germany to strike medals with an inscription on their edges.

(V.) Execution of Grandval (1692).

There are several medals commemorating the execution of Barthélemi de Lignières, Chevalier de Grandval, on account of his share in the plot to assassinate William III of England. He was hung, drawn, and quartered, and on three of the medals gallows and poles bearing his head and quarters are represented. *Medallic Illustrations*, 1885, vol. ii. pp. 75–78, Nos. 287–290.

(I.) There are various medalets (about 1661–1693) of the Guild of Surgeons at Middelburg, which bear *memento mori* devices. One of them has on the obverse a skeleton with hour-glass and dart and the inscription: VIVE MEMOR LETHI. See H. R. Storer, *Amer. Journ. Num.*, July, 1901, p. 17, Nos. 1636–1639.

(I.) Various entrance tickets to the Medical Garden of Amsterdam bear *memento mori* devices, such as a skeleton with scythe, hour-glass, and tomb. I suppose they began to be used in the second half of the seventeenth century. See H. R. Storer, *Amer. Journ. Num.*, July, 1901, p. 19, Nos. 1651–1664.

(IX.) Memorial of the death of William Cheselden, the surgeon (1752). The Cheselden prize-medal of St. Thomas's Hospital, London, for practical surgery and surgical anatomy.

Obv.—Bust of William Cheselden (1688–1752), the well-known surgeon, to right. Legend: CHESELDEN. Below, W. WYON SC. MINT.

Rev.—The body of a man laid out for dissection. In the back-ground, on a table decorated with the arms of St. Thomas's Hospital, are a skull, book and vases; above is a human leg which has been

dissected. Legend: MORS VIVIS SALVS. In the exergue: ST. THOMAS'S HOSPITAL.—W. WYON S. MINT.

Diameter, 2·85 inches; struck. *Medallic Illustrations*, 1885, vol. ii. p. 668.

This beautiful prize-medal, one of the finest works of William Wyon, R.A. (1795–1851), was founded by the late George Vaughan.

(IX.) The Bristowe prize-medal of St. Thomas's Hospital, London, may be mentioned for convenience here. On the obverse is the profile head to left of Dr. John Syer Bristowe (1827–1895), a well-known physician of the hospital. The reverse represents the interior of a pathological laboratory, with a young man seated to right, examining a human heart. The medal is awarded annually in silver for pathology.

(XIV.) A medal of J. H. Pozzi (1697–1752), poet and physician of Bologna, is inscribed on the reverse with the Hippocratic aphorism, VITA BREVIS ARS LONGA. C. A. Rudolphi, *Numismata Virorum de Rebus Medicis, &c.*, Duisburg's edition of 1862, p. 28.

The following medals and medalets, bearing the same Hippocratic aphorism, are placed here for convenience, though somewhat out of their chronological order.

(XIV.) A medal of Dr. C. G. B. Daubeny (1795–1867), Professor of Chemistry at Oxford, has the legend, ARS LONGA VITA BREVIS, on the reverse. H. R. Storer, *Amer. Journ. Num.*, July, 1893, p. 12, No. 630.

(XIV.) A medal commemorating the foundation of the Medical Association of Warsaw, 1809, bears the Hippocratic aphorism, Ο ΒΙΟΣ ΒΡΑΧΥΣ Η ΔΕ ΤΕΧΝΗ

MAKPH, and the names of Dr. A. F. von Wolff and the other founders. C. A. Rudolphi, *Numismata Virorum de Rebus Medicis, &c.*, Duisburg's edition of 1862, p. 193.

Dr. H. R. Storer has kindly furnished me with descriptions of medals on which this famous aphorism of Hippocrates occurs. Besides the medals of Pozzi and Daubeny and of the Warsaw Medical Association, already mentioned, it occurs in Latin on medalets of various Paris medical societies, including the Société Médicale (founded 1796), the Société Médico-Philanthropique (1806), and the Société Médico-Pratique (1808).

(V.) Threat of death to Admiral John Byng, after the loss of Minorca in 1756.

Obv.—Half-length figure of General Blakeney, facing, holding the British flag; on one side is a ship, on the other a fort firing cannon. Inscription: BRAVE. BLAKNEY . REWARD . (in exergue:) BUT . TO . B . GIVE . A . CORD.

Rev.—Half-length figure of Admiral Byng, three-quarters, to left, receiving from a hand a purse; behind him, a ship. Inscription: WAS MINORCA SOLD BY · B · (in exergue:) FOR · FRENCH GOLD.

Diameter, 1·4 inches; struck in brass or bronze. *Medallic Illustrations*, London, 1885, vol. ii. p. 679, No. 394. There is likewise a slightly smaller variety of this medal with a relatively larger figure of Byng (*Medallic Illustrations*, *loc. cit.*, No. 395).

The island of Minorca surrendered to the Duc de Richelieu, on June 27, 1756. This medal is one of the toy-shop or popular kind, like those struck to commemorate the taking of Porto Bello by Admiral Vernon in 1739; and it was doubtless one of the numerous means of exciting popular indignation against Admiral

Byng. On his return he was tried by court-martial, condemned, and shot on the quarter-deck of the *Monarque*, 14th March, 1757.

(V.) Satyrical tokens threatening Thomas Paine (1793–1797).

There are many halfpenny and farthing tokens of the end of the eighteenth century, representing on the obverse a man hanging from a gallows, with the inscription END OF PAIN. On one variety of this type a demon is seated on the gallows, smoking a pipe. Amongst the reverse-types of this series are the following:—

(*a*) An open book inscribed: THE WRONGS OF MAN · JANY 21 1793.

(*b*) Inscription: MAY THE KNAVE OF JACOBIN CLUBS NEVER GET A TRICK.

(*c*) A man and a monkey, each standing on one leg, with the inscription: WE DANCE . PAIN SWINGS.

(*d*) A number of combustibles, intermixed with labels, issuing from a globe inscribed FRATERNITY. The labels are inscribed: REGICIDE, ROBBERY, FALSITY, REQUISITION, FRENCH REFORMS 1797.

See James Atkins, *The Tradesmen's Tokens of the Eighteenth Century*, London, 1892, pp. 133, 373, 374, 382, 383.

Thomas Paine (1737–1809) published his *Rights of Man* in London, 1790–1792, and, after migrating to France in 1792, was given the title of French citizen and elected a member of the Convention. His *Age of Reason* was published in 1793, and made him still more unpopular in England.

The satyrical halfpenny and farthing tokens of the "END OF PAIN" type probably helped to prejudice

the people against him. Such political tokens doubtless served the purpose of cheap political newspapers, just as some of the "toy-shop medals" (such as those of Admiral Vernon) did during an earlier portion of the same century.

(II.) A memorial medal of Aloisio Galvani (1737–1798), by Mercandetti (1803), bears on the reverse the inscription: MORS MIHI VITA, (and in the exergue:) SPIRITUS INTUS ALIT (Virgil, *Aen.*, vi. 726). C. A. Rudolphi, *Numismata Virorum de Rebus Medicis, &c.*, Duisburg's edition of 1862, p. 33.

(IX. and XI.) The Fothergillian medal of the Royal Humane Society (London), 1810.

Obv.—A raft with a man and two boys. In the distance a hastening boat. Artist's signature, W. WYON R.A.

Rev.—A nude child, to right, endeavours to rekindle a torch with his breath. Legend: LATEAT SCINTILLVLA FORSAN. In exergue: EX MUNERE ANTONII FOTHERGILL, M.D. MDCCCX. Artist's signature: W. WYON R.A.

Diameter, 2·8 inches; struck in bronze or gold.

This medal has been awarded in gold on about four occasions since it was founded, for the best treatise on methods of saving life. The British Museum now possesses the specimen struck in gold awarded to the late Sir John Erichsen, the surgeon, in 1845, for his *Experimental Enquiry into the Pathology and Treatment of Asphyxia.* Amongst others who received the medal struck in gold was H. R. Silvester, whose "method of restoring persons apparently drowned" was adopted by the Royal Humane Society in 1861. The beautiful

reverse design occurs likewise on the ordinary medals awarded by the Society for gallantry in saving life. Into the general subject of medals awarded for or commemorating gallantry in life-saving in England and other countries, I shall not enter here. It constitutes a large subject in itself.

(X.) Epidemic of cholera in Paris (1832).

A French medal, by E. Rogat (1832), has on the obverse a figure of Aesculapius feeling the pulse of a sick woman with his left hand, and warding off a figure of death with his right hand. Diameter, 3·3 inches. Figured in *Pestilentia in Nummis*, by L. Pfeiffer and C. Ruland, Tübingen, 1882, No. 450.

(V.) Indignation against the so-called "Massacres of Gallicia" in connexion with the suppression of the revolt in Austrian Poland (1846).

Obv.—Head of Liberty, to right; in front, a bayonet; behind, a palm-branch. Inscription (incuse): DÉMOCRATIE FRANCAISE. Below the head is the artist's signature, *David*, with the date, 1846.

Rev.—A gallows. Inscription (incuse): MASSACRES DE GALLICIE (and in the field below the gallows:) METTERNICH BRENDT VOUÉS A L'EXÉCRATION DE LA POSTÉRITÉ.

Diameter, 1·6 inches; cast in bronze, very low relief. A specimen was formerly in my collection.

It is the work of (or rather from models by) the French sculptor, P. J. David d'Angers, whose extensive series of portrait medallions (cast in bronze) is so well known. In the Musée David at Angers is a large cast bronze medallion (diameter, 15·75 inches), by the same artist, and commemorating the same historical episode. It

represents Liberty inscribing on a gallows the names of the leaders who were regarded by the French and Poles as responsible for the "massacres" (*Catalogue of the Musée David*, by H. Jouin, Angers, 1881, p. 222, No. 210). The same museum contains a design for the head of Liberty on the obverse of the above-described medal. David d'Angers, like his friend and patron, Louis David, the painter, was much concerned in the political movements of his time, and after the *coup d'état* of 1852, was forced to leave France, owing to the position he had taken up.

(XI.) Death of Denis Auguste Affre, Archbishop of Paris (1848).

There are a considerable number of struck medalets commemorating his martyr-like death, having his portrait on the obverse and various devices on the reverse. On one reverse the inscription is: MORT MARTYR DE SON HÉROIQUE DÉVOUEMENT 27 IUIN 1848. A contemporary rough medalet, cast in white metal, is figured in *Souvenirs Numismatiques de la Révolution de* 1848, Paris (not dated), Pl. 54, No. 6.

Archbishop Affre was shot on the barricades in Paris, whilst endeavouring to prevent bloodshed between the Parisian insurgents (red republicans), who were defending the barricades, and the tricoloured soldiery who were attacking them. He had been warned by General Cavaignac of the risk he ran in such an attempt, but replied that his life was of small consequence. He was removed to his palace, where he died on 27th June, 1848.

(VII.) Medal of Samuel Plimsoll, "the Sailors' Friend" (1875).

Obv.—His head to left, wearing spectacles; neck and shoulders clothed. Inscription: S. PLIMSOLL. HOUSE OF COMMONS 22 JULY 1875 LONDON. Signed on the truncation, A. CHEVALIER.

Rev.—Ship at sea, sinking. On a sail is pictured a death's head with crossed bones. In exergue are the words, COFFIN SHIP.

Diameter, 1·4 inches; struck in bronze or brass, with loop for suspension.

These medalets refer to the "death-traps" termed "coffin ships," which Mr. Plimsoll greatly helped in abolishing. These or similar smaller medalets were made by A. Chevalier, an engraver (of Paris), and were worn by those present at a *fête* given in 1875, when Mr. Plimsoll was elected Member of Parliament for Liverpool.

(X.) Commemorative medal of the International Medical Congress held in London (1881).

This medal has on the obverse the crowned head of Queen Victoria to left, and on the reverse an allegorical design by Sir John Tenniel (executed by Leonard C. Wyon, son of W. Wyon, R.A.), representing Aesculapius standing in front of a globe; before him a mother, holding her sick child, and two sufferers, seek his aid; behind him a figure of death is represented floating in the air. Diameter, 2·8 inches; struck in bronze, &c. From the artistic point of view, this medal is unfortunately not pleasing.

(1) There are, according to Bergsøe, certain "pest-tokens" (1889), bearing on the obverse a skull and crossed bones, with or without the inscription, MEMENTO MORI, and on the reverse the inscription, DEN ER DIG VIS ("It—death—is certain for you"). Vilhelm

Bergsøe, *Danske Medailler og Jetons*, Copenhagen, 1893, p. 141, Nos. 989, 990.

(III.) A cast commemorative bronze plaquette (4·5 × 3·25 inches) of Philippe de Girard, by the modern French artist, Louis Eugène Mouchon (1892), bears an allegorical representation of posthumous fame. A specimen of this plaquette is exhibited in the Luxembourg Museum at Paris.

Philippe de Girard, the inventor of the flax-spinning machine, was born in 1775 at the village of Lourmarin, in the department of Vaucluse. He died in 1845. During his life he never received due recognition for his varied talents, his restless work, and his useful inventions; it was not till 1882 that a bronze statue (by Guillaume) was erected to him at Avignon.

(X. and XI.) Medal awarded for help in sanitary and medical work during the epidemic of bubonic plague at Hong-Kong (1894).

Obv.—Sick Chinaman on a bed, partly supported by a European man, who with his left arm presses back a figure of death floating in the air and aiming a spear at the sick man. On the other side of the bed stands a European sick-nurse. In the field, on the left, Chinese characters signifying Hong-Kong. On the right, A. WYON SC. In exergue the date, 1894.

Rev.—PRESENTED BY THE HONG KONG COMMUNITY (and in the centre) FOR SERVICES RENDERED DURING THE PLAGUE OF 1894.

Diameter, 1·4 inches; struck in silver and gold. This medal is by Allan Wyon, the obverse being from a design by Frank Bowcher. Illustrated in *The War Medal Record*, London, 1896, vol. i. Pl. i. No. 4.

PART IV.

ENGRAVED GEMS, FINGER-RINGS, JEWELS, &C., RELATING TO DEATH AND THE VARIOUS ASPECTS OF OR ATTITUDES TOWARDS DEATH.

THERE seem to be no antique gems engraved with devices which could make one suppose that they had served the purpose of memorial tokens of deceased friends or relatives, analogous to the memorial finger-rings of relatively modern times, to be described later on. No "parting scenes" occur on gems, such as are found on some beautiful Greek sepulchral marbles, reminding one of the famous lines of Lucretius, commencing—

> "Jam jam non domus accipiet te laeta neque uxor
> Optima, nec dulces occurrent oscula nati
> Praeripere et tacita pectus dulcedine tangent;"

and of Horace's—

> "Linquenda tellus et domus et placens
> Uxor neque harum quas colis arborum
> Te praeter invisas cupressos
> Ulla brevem dominum sequetur."

There are, however, various engraved gems of early and later Roman times which may be supposed to have in a kind of way served a *memento mori* purpose. Thus C. W. King figures a late Roman sard intaglio (once the property of Murat),[74] on which a winged Cupid-like

[74] C. W. King, *Handbook of Engraved Gems*, London, second edition,

figure (a kind of "genius of death," like that found on Roman sarcophagi) is represented (Fig. 34) holding a torch downwards (an "inverted" torch). He also figures a peridot intaglio of Roman Empire style,[75] on which Charon in his boat receives a soul from Mercury (that

FIG. 34.—A genius of death. (After King.)

FIG. 35.—Charon in his boat, receiving a soul from Mercury. (After King.)

is to say, the Greek Hermes, in his character of "psychopompos," see later on) (Fig. 35). Several Roman gems (intagli) are engraved with figures of skeletons ("larvae" or "shades"). Some at least of these designs seem to suggest the popular conception of Epicurean advice, namely, to seek pleasure, to eat, drink, and enjoy life to-day, since death may come to-morrow.[76] Thus, an

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1885, Pl. xliii. No. 2. In regard to the representation of a "genius" of sleep, with or without wings, on Roman tombs, see G. E. Lessing's famous controversial essay, *Wie die Alten den Tod gebildet* (1769).

[75] King, *loc. cit.*, Pl. lii. No. 6. A so-called "gryllus" of human faces combined with a death's head might also be mentioned here, but the significance of the device is uncertain, though Venuti and Borioni (1763), who figured it, thought it was meant to represent the ages of human life.

[76] Cf. Horace's ode—

> "Huc vina et unguenta et nimium brevis
> Flores amoenae ferre jube rosae,
> Dum res et aetas et sororum
> Fila trium patiuntur atra;"

occasional subject (Fig. 36) is a skeleton with a large wine-jar (amphora)[77] or two skeletons with a wine-jar between them.

Fig. 36.—The skeleton and wine-jar type. (After King.)

On one gem a skeleton is seen emerging from an urn, by the side of which some armour is piled, and plucking

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and similar passages already quoted, and likewise the well-known students' song (? of the eighteenth century)—

"Gaudeamus igitur, juvenes dum sumus,
Post jucundam juventutem,
Post molestam senectutem,
Nos habebit humus."

This portion, at least, of the words of the famous students' song is older than J. M. Usteri's (1793)—

"Freut euch des Lebens,
Weil noch das Lämpchen glüht;
Pflücket die Rose,
Eh sie verblüht."

[77] C. W. King, in 1869 (*Horatii Opera, illustrated from Antique Gems*, p. 431), described the device on a gem of this kind as follows: "Skeleton, the received mode of depicting a *larva*, or ghost, leaning pensively against an amphora, and holding out the lecythus, oil-flask, that indispensable accompaniment of every Grecian burial. These two vessels held the wine and oil, the libations poured upon the funeral pile." But in the second edition of his *Handbook of Engraved Gems*, 1885 (p. 226), he describes the same device (*i.e.* the device on the identical gem) as an Epicurean device: "Larva, ghost, leaning upon a tall wine-jar, and holding forth an unguentarium: an Epicurean hint to enjoy life whilst one can." In connexion with the skeleton and wine-jar devices on engraved gems, it is interesting to note that a figure of a skeleton in the posture of a drunken or dancing man occurs on a Hellenistic vase in

a branch from a palm-tree (Fig. 37). C. W. King[78] alludes to this device as "a speaking allegory of the reaping of posthumous fame." It may, perhaps, be held to express the emptiness of posthumous fame, and to illustrate the lines of Persius (*Sat.* 5, line 229, Dryden's

Fig. 37.—Allegory of posthumous fame. (After King.)

translation): "Live while thou liv'st; for death will make us all a name, a nothing but an old wife's tale." It is, however, not quite certain that any "Epicurean" suggestion was implied by the device. On the contrary, as expressing the vanity of posthumous fame, the gem may possibly have belonged to a Roman philosopher of the

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the Schliemann Collection of the Ethnographical Museum at Berlin. The vase is illustrated in E. Holländer's *Die Karikatur und Satire in der Medicin*, Stuttgart, 1905. This brings one to the uncertain subject of the meaning of dancing skeletons in Roman times. On a sculptured sarcophagus, found in 1810 near the site of Cumae, three such dancing skeletons were represented, and skeletons in similar attitudes have been described on a Roman lamp and on a painting at Pompeii (F. Douce). A dancing skeleton on an antique gem will be referred to later on. Perhaps such devices were intended to imply that what happened after death was by no means necessarily unpleasant. Possibly there was some superstitious significance connected with the representation of dancing skeletons; for instance, a protective influence against malevolent spirits may have been attributed to the devices in question.

[78] *Handbook of Engraved Gems*, edition of 1885, p. 217.

type of Marcus Aurelius, who "made it a special object of mental discipline, by continually meditating on death, and evoking, by an effort of the imagination, whole societies that had passed away, to acquire a realized sense of the vanity of posthumous fame."[79]

Another gem[80] represents Cupid throwing the light of a torch into a large vessel (crater), from which issue a

FIG. 38.—Cupid dislodging a skeleton. (After King.)

skeleton and a laurel-branch (Fig. 38). This device may signify the driving out of an evil spirit (*i.e.* one of the Larvae, as opposed to the Lares) by Love, or it may have been meant to convey the "Epicurean" hint that gloomy thoughts might be expelled by the aid of the light of Love.

A few gem-designs of this period seem to suggest the

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[79] See Lecky's *History of European Morals*, edition of 1905, vol. i. p. 186. Lecky says (*loc. cit.*, p. 185) that the desire for reputation, especially for posthumous reputation, "assumed an extraordinary prominence among the springs of Roman heroism."

[80] C. W. King, *Handbook of Engraved Gems*, edition of 1885, Pl. lxxv. No. 3. In the first edition of the *Handbook* (Bohn's Illustrated Library, 1866, p. 364) King says that on this gem it is clear that the skeleton represents a ghost—Ovid's "ossea larva," and Seneca's "larvarum nudis ossibus cohaerentium figuras." *Larvae*, he says, was the name given to the shades of the wicked; those of the good, on the contrary, became *Lares*, or domestic deities. But even amongst the Romans themselves there was probably some confusion in regard to the terms *Larvae* and *Lemures*.

possibility of the survival of the soul (Psyche) after death. Certain terminal Hellenistic bearded heads (in the style of a so-called "Hermes" or "Terminus") engraved in profile with butterfly wings above the ear have often been described as portraits of Plato[81] (Fig. 39). This explanation was apparently due to Winckelmann,[82] who

FIG. 39.—So-called head of Plato. (After King.)

regarded the butterfly's wings as an allusion to Plato's argument for the immortality of the soul. Furtwängler[83] speaks of all such heads as representing Hypnos, the Greek god or personification of sleep, who on a fine bronze head of the fourth century B.C. (from Civitella d'Arno, near Perugia), now in the British Museum, is represented beardless[84] and youthful, with the wings of

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[81] C. W. King, *Handbook of Engraved Gems*, edition of 1885, Pl. lxix. No. 3; A. H. Smith's *Catalogue of Engraved Gems in the British Museum*, 1888, Pl. i. No. 1512. Similar heads are figured by A. Furtwängler amongst Hellenistic and early Roman intagli. See Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen*, Leipzig, 1900, vol. i. Pl. xxvi. Nos. 41, 42, and Pl. xxx. Nos. 24–26. Below the bust on one of those pictured on Pl. xxx. (No. 24) is a caduceus (κηρύκειον of Hermes), thus bringing the gem in question into connexion with the Greek Hermes-busts.

[82] Winckelmann, quoted by A. H. Smith, *loc. cit.*, p. 170. On an antique gem at Paris, evidently representing portraits of Socrates and Plato facing, that of Plato is without the wings. See King, *Handbook of Engraved Gems*, edition of 1885, Pl. xlix. No. 2.

[83] A. Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, vol. iii. pp. 209, 292.

[84] There is a marble statue of Hypnos at Madrid and a bronze statuette at Vienna. A youthful beardless figure of Sleep, with butterfly wings

a night-hawk attached to his temples (the wing on the left side has been broken off). An almost certain and unmistakable allusion to the doctrine of the immortality of the soul is, however, furnished by an early Roman intaglio (Fig. 40) representing a bearded man (philosopher) seated, reading from a scroll; on the scrinium before him is a human skull (emblem of the mortality of the body), and above it a butterfly, the symbol of Psyche, or the human soul.[85] The butterfly was, indeed, as Furtwängler has pointed out, employed at a still earlier period to indicate the soul, and Furtwängler figures an Etruscan scarabaeus of the fifth century B.C. (to which I shall again refer), on which Hermes, in his character of

FIG. 40.—Philosopher reading from a scroll, with a skull and butterfly on a scrinium before him. (After Furtwängler.)

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on his back, and with horns (containing balm?) in his hands, occurs also on gems, if C. W. King's interpretation is correct (*Antique Gems*, 1872, Pl. xxxvi. No. 1, and *Handbook*, 1885, Pl. lxxvi. No. 3). On an engraved gem, figured by A. Furtwängler (*loc. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. xxx. No. 53), Hypnos is represented as a bearded figure (King has described this figure as Death—cf. footnote 95 in regard to the possible confusion of representations of Death with representations of Sleep) with wings on his back, coming to the relief of the tired Heracles; and on two other antique gems (Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. xviii. No. 28, and Pl. xxxvi. No. 20) he is represented in the same form, but behind the figure, not of Heracles, but of a sleepy or sleeping woman. The supposed thunderbolts on a gem of this type (King, *Handbook of Engraved Gems*, edition of 1885, Pl. lxxv. No. 4), which, according to Furtwängler, are really ants, made King describe it as representing "Jupiter descending in a shower of thunderbolts upon the dying Semele." The early and archaistic representation of Hypnos with a beard may be compared with that of Hermes in the early and archaistic bearded types, so different from the figures of the Roman Mercury. It is, of course, quite natural that male figures should be more frequently represented with a beard in archaic (and therefore also archaistic) than in later art.

[85] Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. xxx. No. 45. This type was more probably intended to represent Pythagoras than Plato.

Ψυχαγωγός, is represented with a butterfly on his right shoulder.[86]

At any rate, Psyche herself is frequently accompanied or symbolized by a butterfly on Roman gems, and a butterfly as the symbol of Psyche is often associated with a figure of Cupid. Sometimes a Cupid is represented burning a butterfly with a torch or at a flaming altar, or the butterfly is represented burning itself over a torch or flaming altar.[87] It seems as if the butterfly on Roman gems, though often symbolical of the immortality of the soul (freed from its chrysalis-like imprisonment in the body), yet may sometimes signify sexual love or the consuming passion of love, as if Psyche herself were consumed with love; and so indeed she was in the beautiful tale of Cupid and Psyche, as handed down to us in the Romance ("Asinus Aureus") of Appuleius. Psyche may thus have been regarded as a kind of "female Cupid," that is to say, as personifying the more receptive, female, element in love, whilst Cupid personified the more active, male, element; Psyche would then be the passion of love ready to be ignited, and Cupid would be the flame which sets it on fire. I believe that the Roman gem-device of a torch burning a butterfly is symbolical of Cupid and Psyche, in fact, that the torch signifies Cupid (who burns with his torch after wounding with his arrows) igniting the passion of love in Psyche; sometimes the butterfly (Cupid's victim) is being burned not with a torch, but at the flaming Hymenaeal altar.

I am inclined to think that the latter explanation is generally the correct one, though in some cases both explanations are possible. Thus, on a gem figured by Furtwängler,[88] a skull is depicted with a butterfly above it (Fig. 41). This may be taken as an emblematical representation of mortality (the skull) and immortality (the butterfly), that is to say, of the survival of the soul (the butterfly) after death (the skull), or else as an Epicurean hint contrasting love (the butterfly) with death (the skull), just as on the gems previously mentioned the wine-jar and the Cupid were contrasted with the skeleton.

FIG. 41.—Skull with butterfly above it. (After Furtwängler.)

[86] For other early instances of the butterfly being used as a symbol of the soul, see Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, vol. iii. pp. 202, 203.

[87] *Catalogue of Gems in the British Museum*, 1888, Nos. 832, 833.

[88] A. Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. xxix. No. 48.

On another intaglio the upright figure of a skeleton is accompanied by the following symbols—a wine-jar, a wreath, a ball, and a butterfly. This device may be intended to represent the instability of human life (the ball), and to contrast temporary sensual enjoyment (the wine-jar and the wreath) with the immortality of the soul (the butterfly) after death (the skeleton), but is much more probably intended to convey the Epicurean advice that since human life is uncertain and fleeting (the ball), and since after death (the skeleton) no pleasure is possible, it is better to lose no opportunity of enjoying wine and feasting (the wine-jar and wreath) and love (the butterfly). Furtwängler refers likewise to a gem [89] representing a skeleton and a butterfly with a torch below the latter, and thinks that this device is meant to signify that the soul is no more immortal than the body, that, as Lucretius in his great didactic poem, *De Rerum Naturâ*, endeavoured to teach, it perishes with the body. But I have already endeavoured to show that the torch burning the butterfly on Roman gems signifies Cupid igniting the passion of love in Psyche; so that the whole device on the gem in question would possess an Epicurean meaning like other devices already referred to.

It is, however, quite likely that amongst the Romans the idea of love (*i.e.* sexual love) was often blended with the idea of the human soul, whether the latter was

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[89] Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, vol. iii. p. 297. This gem (a carnelian intaglio) is depicted in an absurdly magnified form by R. Venuti and Borioni (*Collect. Antiq. Roman.*, Rome, 1736, Pl. lxxx.). Amongst the various symbols associated with the skeleton, in addition to the skull and butterfly, is a wheel, evidently referring to the uncertainty and fleeting nature of human life.

regarded as mortal or immortal. It appears, then, natural that Psyche (or her butterfly) should be employed as a symbol both of sexual love and of the soul (see p. 128), though the soul was doubtless regarded by some as mortal and by others as immortal.

The story of Cupid and Psyche was adopted by the early Christians as typifying the purification of the soul, just as that of Orpheus charming the wild beasts was regarded as symbolical of the work of Christ.

In regard to the doctrines of metempsychosis and the question of a spiritual existence independent of bodily life, I shall for convenience here refer to a Graeco-Scythian gold finger-ring (about the first century B.C.) found in the tomb of a woman at Kertch (the ancient Panticapaeum), and presented by Dr. C. W. Siemens to the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. According to the description exhibited in the Museum, the facing head engraved in intaglio on the bezel represents the Oriental moon-god (Deus Lunus of later Rome), and the figure of the bee above the head is the symbol of the moon as the abode of spirits (Fig. 42). In the old Persian religion (according to the same account) the moon represents the cosmic bull from whose carcase bees, typical of the vital principle in souls, swarmed to earth.[90] Thus, in Mithraism the moon itself came to be known as the Bee (cf. Porphyrius, *De Antro*

FIG. 42.—From a Graeco-Scythian gold finger-ring.

[90] Compare Virgil's description (*Georg.*, iv.) of a method, said to have been practised in Egypt, of raising a stock of bees from the putrefying carcase of a steer. Compare also the story of Samson and the swarm of bees in the lion's carcase (*Judges*, ch. xiv. ver. 8). In reference to Virgil's mistaken belief, Mr. S. G. Shattock has drawn attention to the striking resemblance to bees and wasps (mimicry) observed in certain

Nympharum). For permission to illustrate the ring in question I am indebted to Mr. D. G. Hogarth, Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, who kindly sent me an impression.

There are several antique gem-types to which we must still allude. In the first place, Hermes has sometimes been represented on early intagli in the exercise of his functions as Ψυχοπομπός (νεκραγωγός, ψυχαγωγός, etc.), the conductor of the shade (εἴδωλον) or soul (ψυχή)

FIG. 43.—Hermes Psychopompos. (After Furtwängler.)

FIG. 44.—Hermes with butterfly on right shoulder. (After Furtwängler.)

of the deceased from the upper to the lower world. Particularly interesting is an Etruscan sardonyx scarabaeus,[91] on which (Fig. 43) Hermes is seen standing with petasos slung at the back of his neck, holding a diminutive human figure (evidently intended to signify a human soul or shade) on his left arm, whilst in his right hand is the kerykeion (caduceus); the Acheruntian water of the nether world is indicated at his feet on the right. A quite similar device occurs on a carnelian Etruscan scarabaeus of older style,[92] but the water is not indicated as it is on the last-mentioned one. On

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species of the family Syrphidae, the maggots of which are found in decaying matter. J. H. and A. B. Comstock (*A Manual for the Study of Insects*, p. 471) say that a common representative of this family, *Eristalis tenax* (the "Drone-fly"), is often mistaken for a male honey-bee.

[91] Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen*, vol. i. Pl. xviii. No. 12.

[92] Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. xvi. No. 54.

an Etruscan scarabaeus[93] of the fifth century B.C., Hermes, holding his kerykeion, is represented with a butterfly on his right shoulder (Fig. 44); and Furtwängler points out how interesting it is to find that at that early period already the butterfly was employed as a symbol of the human soul or Psyche.[94]

It is noteworthy that the Etruscan "Charun," armed with his long hammer, seems never to occur on Etruscan gems, nor (it is supposed) on Etruscan mirrors. From the representations on the mural paintings of Etruscan tombs, on Etruscan sarcophagi, on painted vases, &c., we know that he was imagined as the inflexible and brutal-looking messenger of Death, who conducted the soul or shade (εἴδωλον of the Greeks, probably the "hinthial" of the Etruscans) of the deceased to the lower world. He corresponds more to the Hermes Psychopompos than to the Charon of the Greeks, and was evidently supposed to be in attendance in order to separate the soul from the body (this is probably why he holds the long formidable-looking hammer or hammer-like instrument) at the moment of death, like Azrael, the Jewish and Mohammedan "Angel of Death." The winged bearded deity appearing to fatigued Heracles, on an early antique intaglio, which was supposed by C. W. King to be a Charun-like representation of Death, is regarded by Furtwängler as Hypnos, the personification of Sleep.[95]

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[93] Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. xviii. No. 22.

[94] For other early instances of the butterfly being used as a symbol of the soul, see Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, vol. iii. pp. 202, 203.

[95] See Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. xxx. No. 53. It is hardly surprising that in the interpretation of symbolic representations in ancient art there should have been occasional confusion between Death and Sleep, "twin-brothers" as Homer calls them, when they carry off

In Etruscan death-scenes the Etruscan Charun is occasionally represented (see Fig. 45) accompanied by various Gorgon-like or Fury-like demons, sometimes holding snakes in their hands, including "Vanth," probably the Greek Thanatos (*Θάνατος*).[96] A somewhat

FIG. 45.—An Etruscan "parting scene," with the Etruscan "Charun" holding hammer and a winged demon holding snakes. From a painted vase (after Dennis).

similar winged Gorgon or Fury (but with four wings), holding a serpent in each hand, is represented on an antique gem figured by C. W. King.[97] Here we may refer to a carnelian scarab (in Berlin), figured by Furtwängler,[98] representing a winged figure bending forwards, holding an urn in both hands and apparently

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the body of Sarpedon, slain by Patroclus, to Lycia—*Iliad*, book xvi. line 671—*Πέμπε δέ μιν πομποῖσιν ἅμα κραιπνοῖσι φέρεσθαι, Ὕπνῳ καὶ Θανάτῳ διδυμάοσιν.* Sleeping is, in a sense, "living without life," and dying during sleep has been poetically alluded to by the poet-laureate, Thomas Warton the younger, as dying without death—"sic sine morte mori." Thus, indeed, would many like to die. See also footnotes 74 and 84, concerning representations of Death and Sleep.

[96] See G. Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, London, third edition, 1883.

[97] C. W. King, *Handbook of Engraved Gems*, second edition, 1885, Pl. xlv. No. 6.

[98] Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. xix. No. 68.

about to lay it down (Fig. 46). Furtwängler suggests that this winged figure may represent the demon "Thanatos."

Certain representations of Hermes on antique gems are thought by Furtwängler[99] to relate to Pythagorean and Orphic[100] doctrines of a transmigration of souls (metempsychosis), doctrines probably originally derived from India and the East. Thus, on a carnelian Etruscan scarabaeus[101] (Fig. 47), Hermes with his kerykeion

FIG. 46.—Winged figure holding urn. (After Furtwängler.)

FIG. 47.—Hermes summoning a soul from the lower world. (After Furtwängler.)

(caduceus) seems to be summoning a soul from the earth (or rather, from the lower world). On another Etruscan scarabaeus (of calcedony),[102] Hermes seems to be calling up a soul from a large jar (pithos); a bearded head is seen emerging from the jar, which is perhaps intended to represent an exit from the lower world (Fig. 48). Furtwängler likewise figures several early Italian intagli,[103] on which Hermes (mostly with his

[99] Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, vol. iii. pp. 202, 255 *et seq.*

[100] In regard to the Orphic doctrines of an existence after death, see especially the account of Orphic inscribed tablets of thin gold, found in tombs of Lower Italy, &c., in Miss J. E. Harrison's *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, 2nd edition, Cambridge, 1908, pp. 572 *et seq.*, and the Critical Appendix by Mr. G. Murray. Numerous representations of the Orpheus legend occur in antique and later art; in Christian symbolism Orpheus became a type of Christ (see p. 122).

[101] Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. xviii. No. 55.

[102] Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. xx. No. 32.

[103] Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. xxi. Nos. 64–72. C. W. King (*Handbook of Engraved Gems*, edition of 1885, Pl. lxxv. No. 1) describes a similar gem-type as: "Mercury, by the magic power of his caduceus, drawing up a soul from the Shades."

kerykeion) is represented "raising" souls or spirits out of the earth, the soul or spirit being indicated by a human head (Fig. 49), or by a head and upper portion of

FIG. 48.—Hermes calling up a soul. (After Furtwängler.)

FIG. 49.—Hermes raising a soul. (After Furtwängler.)

the body. On two Etruscan scarabs,[104] Hermes appears to be placing a human head on the body of a swan or bird of some kind (Figs. 50 and 51). Furtwängler

FIG. 50.—Hermes placing a human head on the body of a bird. (After Furtwängler.)

FIG. 51.—Hermes placing a human head on the body of a bird. (After Furtwängler.)

thinks that these gems do not refer to mere magic or so-called "necromancy" (*νεκρομαντεία*), that is to say, the magical invocation or "raising" of ghosts or shades of the dead (for the purpose of obtaining information about the future), as believed in by the credulous of many ages and many countries. He supposes that the idea of metempsychosis is indicated,[105] and that Hermes is represented calling up souls from Hades that they may live again on earth.

A peacock, thought by Furtwängler to signify everlasting life, occurs not rarely on Roman intagli. It is

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[104] Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. xix. Nos. 49, 50.

[105] Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, vol. iii. pp. 254, 262.

represented alone or together with other birds; sometimes at a fountain or basin of water, or with a thyrsus.[106] It may be accompanied by a butterfly,[107] or may be apparently standing on a butterfly;[108] and in one case a peacock, a "hermes" of Priapus, and a butterfly are all represented on the same gem.[109]

I have already pointed out that on some Roman gems the butterfly, especially the burning butterfly, appears rather to be an emblem of sexual love than an emblem of the soul. It seems, indeed, as if in many Roman minds ideas of love (sexual love), the human soul, and immortality, were closely united. And this is not surprising when one remembers that, even nowadays, youthful, ecstatic love, jealous of time and space, in poetry and real life, often believes itself immortal and fondly refuses to acknowledge any bounds but those of eternity.

In Imperial Roman times the peacock, as the special "bird of Juno," was sometimes placed on the reverse of coins of the "consecratio" kind, commemorating the "deification" or "immortality" of an Empress, just as the eagle, the special bird of Jupiter, was placed on similar ("consecratio") coins commemorating the deification of an Emperor. By the early Christians the peacock was adopted as a symbol of immortality, because it renews its tail-feathers every year, or for some imaginary reason.

We may here for convenience mention the numerous Roman Imperial coins with reverse types symbolic of "aeternitas." Eternity was represented in various ways: often by a veiled figure, standing, holding the heads of the Sun and the Moon in her hands, with an altar at her feet; by a figure of Ceres in a chariot; &c. The phoenix,

[106] Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. xxix. Nos. 57 (with thyrsus), 60; Pl. lxiv. Nos. 51, 52.

[107] Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. xxix. No. 55.

[108] Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. xxix. No. 61.

[109] Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. xxiv. No. 59.

as a symbol of eternity, appears on pieces of Constantine the Great and his children; and, needless to say, this fabulous bird has been much employed in Christian countries as an emblem of the resurrection.

A. F. Gori [110] figures an antique gem (see Fig. 52), on which is engraved a man (countryman, peasant?) seated on a stone, with his right foot resting on a globe; he is piping on a double flute, and before him a skeleton dances grotesquely. Is this device meant to signify that the

FIG. 52.—Skeleton in dancing attitude before a man seated piping. (After Gori.)

idea of death is not unpleasant or terrifying to the poor peasant, whose life in the country may be supposed to be a quiet and natural one, and who is therefore thought to be able, calmly, without anxiety, to meditate on and be ready for death; or does the skeleton signify the inmost part or essence of the man, namely, his innocent mind or soul, "dancing" in harmony with Nature's best music,

[110] Gori, *Museum Florentinum*, Florence, 1731, vol. i. Pl. 91, No. 3.

the music of a pure and happy life? On the whole, however, I think the skeleton was more probably meant to represent a malevolent ghost or spirit (one of the "larvae," an "ossea larva" of Ovid), and the device of the piping man was intended to show that any one leading a natural life with innocent pleasures had no occasion to fear the apparition or malignant interference of ghosts or evil spirits. On the other hand, a contrast was possibly intended, the man being represented unaware or unmindful of some threatening danger or disaster, connected with the appearance of the skeleton. All this is, after all, mere guessing, and I do not know any certain interpretation of the gem, which may also have been used as an amulet supposed by some talismanic virtue to protect the bearer.

Furtwängler[111] figures some early Italian and Roman intagli representing one or two peasants (rustics) standing by a skull, on which there is sometimes a butterfly. It is possible that this type refers to the calm meditation supposed to be associated with a country life.

In this connexion one should, however, note the existence of many gems representing one or more persons looking at a human head. Superficially some of them resemble those just mentioned (representing a man standing by a human skull), but on several of them the head is evidently speaking or prophesying (sometimes the mouth is open), and a man is writing down the (prophetic?) words uttered. Furtwängler[112] figures

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[111] Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, vol. iii. p. 252; and vol. i. Pl. xxii. Nos. 12, 15; and Pl. xxx. Nos. 46–48. Needless to say, the word "Italian" is not usually employed in England in the sense in which Furtwängler uses it in his description of antique gems.

[112] Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, vol. iii. pp. 245–252; and vol. i. Pl. xxii.

several such gems, one of them an Etruscan scarabaeus of the finest style, the others early Italian intagli of the kind immediately succeeding the Etruscan scarabaeus. He thinks that the type may relate to Orpheus legends. C. W. King described a gem of the kind as representing an Etruscan sorcerer raising a ghost in order to give responses to those consulting him. On the gems on which two or more persons are looking at (and listening to) the head, one of them has a stick or wand in his hand, and either points out the head to the others and explains what it is saying, or else is a magician who has "raised" the head from the infernal regions so that it may reveal the future to his clients (ordinary necromancy, *νεκρομαντεία*).

In regard to superstitions connected with death and the idea of a future existence, we may here mention that there are several antique gems which have been supposed to represent human sacrifices, but it is generally difficult to be sure that such gems are not merely representations of mythological incidents.[113]

One may here also refer to the numerous ancient Egyptian amulets, not rarely cut in gem-stones, that have been found with mummies. They were placed either on the mummified body itself or between the mummy swathings, and were intended to help the deceased in his future existence. Amongst the amulets (dating from early Egyptian civilization to Ptolemaic times) of this class exhibited in the British Museum are: scarabs, or beetles, representing new life and

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Nos. 1-9, 13, 14 (all in early Italian style immediately succeeding the Etruscan scarabaeus); and Pl. lxi. No. 51 (an Etruscan scarabaeus of the finest style).

[113] See Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, vol. iii. pp. 229, 260.

resurrection; heart-amulets to protect the heart (to the protection of which chapters xxvii.–xxx.B of the Book of the Dead are devoted); the serpent's head, protecting its wearer against the attacks of worms and snakes in the tomb; the human-headed hawk, assuring to the deceased the power of uniting his body, soul and spirit, at will; the ladder, representing the ladder by which Osiris ascended from earth to heaven; the two-finger amulet representing the fingers (index and middle fingers) which Horus used when he helped his father Osiris up the ladder which reached from earth to heaven; the steps, symbolic of the throne of Osiris, and obtaining for the wearer exaltation to and in heaven; the buckle or "girdle of Isis;" the pillow or head-rest (usually made of haematite); the papyrus sceptre; &c.

In this connexion also the subject of "Charon's money" may be alluded to. In Ancient Greece a small coin, such as an obolus or "danacé," was placed between the teeth of a corpse; it was intended to serve as a charm (see p. 152) or as Charon's fee for ferrying the shade of the departed across the rivers of the lower world. Certain very thin circular embossed plates of gold ("gold bracteates" of modern numismatists) were likewise buried with corpses, doubtless to serve a similar purpose, or in some way to help the deceased in his future life in the world below. I had two such gold "bracteates" in my collection, one with a simple rosette pattern, the other with a figure of Triptolemos seated in his winged car ("dragon-chariot") drawn by serpents. The latter was apparently made by pressing a thin sheet of gold over the obverse of a bronze coin of Eleusis in Attica of the type which I have already described in Part III. (see Fig. 10).

The use of Charon's obolus or "danacé" is alluded to by several ancient authors (*e.g.* Pollux, ix. 82), and Lucian (*De Luctu*, 10) ridiculed the custom, asking how people knew whether Attic, Macedonian, or Aeginetan obols passed as current coin in the infernal world. In spite, however, of Lucian's ridicule, the custom of placing coins in the mouth of the dead survived from Ancient Greece, through Roman and Byzantine ages, to modern times in Rumelia and Anatolia.[114] The worthless nature of the coins or coin-like objects employed in this way is apparently indicated by certain passages of Pherecrates and Hesychius, and reminds one of the tinsel-like character of jewelry and ornaments manufactured exclusively for sepulchral purposes.

Finger-Rings,[115] Jewels, &c.

A death's head occasionally formed the bezel of a so-called "decade ring," that is to say, a finger-ring with ten projections to serve the devotional purpose of a rosary. In some of these decade rings, like one in the British Museum (seventeenth century?), the death's head is enamelled white and attached to the ring by a swivel mounting. Rings decorated with death's heads, skeletons, and such-like, used to be occasionally worn by persons who were, or affected to be, of a serious turn of mind, in the same

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[114] See also the Addendum, at the end.

[115] For information concerning memorial rings that I have not seen myself, I am greatly indebted to Sir John Evans's pamphlet on *Posy Rings* (London, 1892), to the chapter on "Memorial and Mortuary Rings" in Mr. W. Jones's *Finger-Ring Lore* (London, edition of 1898), and to the section entitled "Facts about Finger-Rings," in Mr. F. W. Fairholt's *Rambles of an Archaeologist* (London, 1871). There are many memorial and mourning rings in our great London Museums, and Sir John Evans kindly showed me those in his collection.

way as in Holbein's picture, already referred to, known as "The Ambassadors," Jean de Dinteville, Lord of Polisy, is represented wearing a *memento mori* jewel (a silver death's head set in gold) as a cap-piece. Dr. Martin Luther is said to have worn a gold finger-ring with a small death's head in enamel, and the words, "Mori saepe cogita" ("Think often of death"); round the setting was engraved: "O mors, ero mors tua" ("O death, I will be thy death").[116] In the collection of the Rev. W. B. Hawkins was a gold official ring of the Grand Master of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem (Malta), with skeleton, scythe, and hour-glass in enamel, on the bezel, and with death's head and crossed bones on the shoulders. Rings with a death's head are said to have been in favour amongst the English Puritans.[117] A gold ring engraved with a death's head, the words "Memento mori," and the initials J.B., was found in

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[116] Cf. *St. John*, chap. xi. 25, 26: "I am the resurrection and the life: he that believeth in Me, though he were dead, yet shall he live: and whosoever liveth and believeth in Me shall never die." Compare also St. Paul's *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, chap. xv. 54: "Death is swallowed up in victory"—*i.e.* "Mors Christi, mors mortis mihi."

[117] W. Jones (*loc. cit.*, p. 551) says: "By a strange inconsistency the procuresses of Queen Elizabeth's time usually wore a ring with a death's head upon it, and probably with the common motto, 'Memento mori.'" He quotes John Marston, who, in *The Dutch Courtezan* (1605), says: "As for their (loose women's) death, how can it be bad, since their wickedness is always before their eyes, and a death's head most commonly on their middle finger?" E. C. Brewer (*Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*, 1904 edition, p. 338), in support of a similar statement, quotes a passage in Massinger's play, *The Old Law* (act iv. scene 1): "Sell some of my cloaths to buy thee a death's head, and put upon thy middle finger. Your least considering bawds do so much." However, as Mr. C. H. Read tells me, it seems *primâ facie* improbable that such a custom should really have existed. Is the true explanation to be found in the probable fact that some procuresses, &c., of the time wore death's-head rings in order to give themselves the appearance of leading a religious and meditative life, just as some criminals of modern times have been notorious church-goers?

1765 amongst the ruins of the North Gate House on Bedford Bridge, and has been supposed to have belonged to John Bunyan (1628–1688), who was imprisoned there. According to Fairholt,[118] skull and skeleton decorations for rings and similar *memento mori* devices on jewelry came into regular fashion at the Court of France when Diane de Poitiers, who was then in widow's mourning, became mistress of King Henry II.

Shakespeare, in his *Love's Labour's Lost* (act v. scene 2), makes Biron compare the countenance of Holofernes to "a death's face in a ring;" and death's-head rings (with inscriptions such as "Memento mori," or "Respice finem") are likewise alluded to by Beaumont and Fletcher in *The Chances:* "I'll keep it as they keep death's heads in rings, to cry *Memento* to me." Shakespeare may have been thinking of a similar kind of *memento mori* ring, when in the First Part of Henry IV (act iii. scene 3) he makes Falstaff say to Bardolph, "I make as good use of it (Bardolph's face) as many a man doth of a death's head or a *memento mori;*" and again in the Second Part of Henry IV (act ii. scene 4) when Falstaff says to Doll Tear-sheet, "Peace, good Doll! do not speak like a death's head; do not bid me remember mine end."

Memento mori devices and inscriptions were more frequently adopted for memorial rings and mourning rings, bequeathed or given away at funerals. Many such memorial rings were designed to serve the double purpose of a memorial of the dead and a *memento mori* for the living. Many of them have a death's head enamelled or engraved on the bezel; in some rings of

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[118] F. W. Fairholt, *Rambles of an Archaeologist*, 1871, p. 148.

more elaborate and delicate workmanship, the bezel itself is in the form of a minute skull, enamelled white; in others again the skull is engraved in cameo on a gem-stone mounted in the bezel; in the less expensive rings the death's head was occasionally of mother-of-pearl, &c. Some have the shank or whole ring enamelled or chiselled with figures of skeletons, skulls, and crossed bones, &c. In the British Museum there is an English gold enamelled ring of the seventeenth century, the bezel of which consists of a small case, made to open on a hinge, and containing a minute death's head in white enamel. Fairholt illustrates a gold enamelled ring now in the British Museum, formed by two figures of skeletons supporting a miniature sarcophagus, the lid of which was made to slide off so as to show a tiny skeleton in the interior.[119] In another ring the bezel carried a coffin-shaped crystal engraved with the figure of a skeleton. "Skull-decorations" were also sometimes used for the chiselled or enamelled backs of small seals or signets, such as that figured in Paul Lacroix's *Arts in the Middle Ages* (English edition by Sir W. Armstrong, p. 135, Fig. 139). In some memorial rings an actual piece of bone (presumably human bone) has been inserted in the gold, behind the bezel or elsewhere.

Memorial and mourning rings bear such inscriptions as: "Memento mori;" "Remember death;" "Live to die;" "Dye to live;" "Breath paine, Death gaine" (in the collection of the late Sir John Evans); "As I am, you must bee" ("Quod es fui, quod sum eris"); "Hodie mihi, cras tibi" (on a seventeenth-century specimen in the British Museum); "Death sy myn eritag" (on a

[119] F. W. Fairholt, *Miscellanea Graphica*, London, 1856, pl. x. Fig. 2.

sixteenth-century gold ring); "Nosse te ypsum;"[120] "Prepare for death;" "Prudenter aspice finem;" "Behold the ende;" "Oritur non moritur;" "Prepare to follow R. J.;" "I am gone before;" "Prepared be to follow me" (on two memorial rings of King Charles I of England, in the British Museum); "Eram non sum;" "Heaven is my happyness;" "Not lost, but gone before" (eighteenth century); "Fallen to rise" (eighteenth century); "Omnia vanitas" (eighteenth century).

Mr. W. T. Ready tells me of a finely made old German memorial ring, which he has seen, bearing a Latin inscription signifying, "Death opens the gate of life." A sixteenth-century gold ring exhibited in the Victoria and Albert Museum has a hexagonal bezel with a death's head enamelled on it and the inscription, "Nosse te ypsum" ("Know thyself"); on the edge of the bezel is a second inscription, DYE TO LYVE. Another sixteenth-century gold ring to be seen in the same Museum has a death's head in enamel on its hexagonal bezel surrounded by the inscription, "Behold the ende;" on the edge of the bezel is another inscription, "Rather death than fals fayth."[121] A large

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[120] Γνῶθι σεαυτόν ("Nosce teipsum," "Know thyself"), the "Heaven-sent" words (*vide* Juvenal, *Sat.* 11, 27) inscribed over the portico of the great temple of Apollo, at Delphi, though they have not actually a *memento mori* significance, are frequently associated with *memento mori* sentences, the idea being that those who learn to know themselves are ready for death whenever death comes. The Greek saying has been enlarged in the Arabian: "Who knows himself knows his God" (see *Abhandlung über die Siegel der Araber, &c.*, by Freiherr Hammer-Purgstall, 1848, p. 49, note). "Nosce teipsum" perhaps suggested the "See yourself as you are" on Solario's painting (dated 1505) of Giov. Cristoforo Longono, of Milan, now in the London National Gallery:—

"Ignorans qualis fueris, qualisque futurus,
Sis qualis, studeas posse videre diu."

[121] This ring, like several others in various collections, was said to

gold ring found in 1780 by the sexton of Southwell Church, and supposed to have belonged to one of the Knights Hospitallers of Winckbourne, bore the following motto deeply cut on the inside: + MIEV + MORI + QVE + CHANGE + MA + FOI + ("Better to die than change my faith"—cf. family motto, "Mutare fidem nescio").

Some of the memorial rings of King Charles I of England are of curious workmanship and design. One that belonged to Horace Walpole has the King's head in miniature, with a death's head between the letters C.R. in front, and the motto, "Prepared be to follow me." Another has a death's head, with an earthly crown below it, and the word VANITAS (on one side); above the death's head is a celestial crown with the word GLORIA (on the other side).[122] It contains the miniature portrait of the King, and is inscribed, "Gloria Angl. Emigravit," with the date (old style) of the King's execution. Two other rings bear the King's portrait and the inscription, "Sic transit gloria mundi." Another gold ring had the King's portrait in a little case (forming the bezel), on the outside of which the four cardinal virtues were represented in enamel; on the inner side of the lid, a skull and crossed bones were enamelled.

Izaak Walton, in a codicil to his will (1683), fixed both the value of his memorial rings and the legend they were to bear. The value was to be 13*s.* 4*d.*, and on those given to his family the words or mottoes were to be,

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have been given by King Charles I of England on the day of his execution to Bishop Juxon. But the ring itself is of earlier workmanship.

[122] This device is similar to that on the reverse of a memorial medal (already described) on the King's death, and is illustrated by a passage in the *Icon Basilike*, commencing: "I shall not want the heavy and envyed crownes of this world."

"Love my Memory, I.W., obiit;" and on one for the Bishop of Winchester, "A mite for a million, I.W., obiit;" and on those for other friends, "A friend's farewell, I.W., obiit." In all he bequeathed about forty rings. Speaker Lenthall (1591–1662) directed by will that "Oritur non moritur" should be inscribed on fifty gold rings to be given away in his family at his death; and Sir Henry Wotton (1568–1639) left to each of the Fellows of Eton College a gold black-enamelled ring with the motto within: "Amor unit omnia." W. Jones quotes the following clause from a will dated 1648: "Also I do will and appoint ten rings of gold to be made of the value of twenty shillings a piece sterling with a death's head upon some of them." It is probable that jewellers kept memorial rings of this kind in stock ready for inscriptions to be engraved on them as required.

Memento mori devices have occasionally been adopted for seals, and the backs of small seals or "signets," just as the shanks and other parts of finger-rings were sometimes chiselled in *memento mori* fashion ("skull-decorations," &c.).[123] I have already alluded to the seal of Erasmus (a man's head, facing, on a boundary stone or terminus, with the inscription, CEDO NVLLI) with which he sealed his last will, dated at Basel, 1536; and I now picture it (Fig. 53) from the figure in Jortin's *Life of Erasmus*, together with an antique intaglio which belonged to Erasmus. The latter forms part of a finger-ring, and represents a bearded terminal head, or "Hermes," possibly the Indian Bacchus, in Hellenistic style, without any inscription; from this Erasmus

[123] One such signet is figured in Paul Lacroix's *Arts in the Middle Ages*, English edition, by Sir W. Armstrong, p. 135, Fig. 139.

apparently derived his idea of taking a terminal figure as a *memento mori* device (Fig. 54). The seal of the

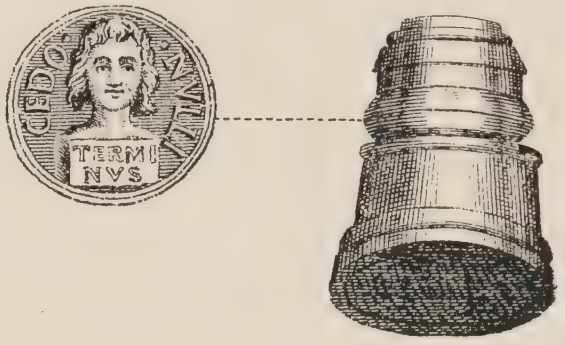

Fig. 53.—Seal of Erasmus with his "terminus" device. (After Jortin.)

Guild of Physicians and Surgeons at Delft was a skull with crossed bones, and the inscription, MEMENTO MORI.

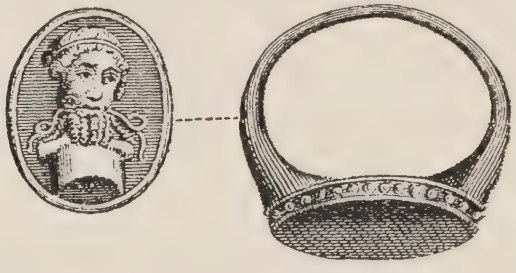

Fig. 54.—Finger-ring with an antique intaglio, from which apparently Erasmus derived the idea of his "terminus" device. (After Jortin.)

Inscriptions referring to death occur on a few Oriental seals.[124] Thus on a seal of Chosroës I (Nushirvan), the Great, of Persia (531–579 A.D.), there is said to have been a pessimistic inscription (such as might have

[124] There is some confusion between Oriental seals and Oriental talismans. A talisman may be a gem-stone engraved with an incuse Arabic inscription like a seal, but in a talisman the inscription should not be reversed as in a seal. Carnelians are favourite stones for Oriental seals, and are likewise used for talismans; in the latter case the incuse inscription is sometimes filled in with white enamel. Such carnelian seals, owing to the red colour of the stone, have been likened by poets to red wine and red lips, and kissing has therefore been playfully likened to sealing, and a kiss to the device known as "Solomon's seal."

been derived from *Ecclesiastes*) signifying: "The way is very dark, what can I see? One lives once only, what can I desire? Behind me is Death, what can delight me?" On the seal of Moawiyah II (683 A.D.), the third Caliph of Arabia of the Ommiad dynasty, there are said to have been words meaning, "The world is vanity." On the seal of Walid I (705–715 A.D.), the sixth Caliph of the same dynasty: "O Walid, thou art dead and shalt be brought to account." On the seal of Walid II (743–744 A.D.), the eleventh Caliph of the same dynasty: "O Walid, take heed of death."[125] An Arab seal of the Blacas Collection[126] bears an inscription signifying: "O Khalil, remember death, and put thy trust in God. That will be sufficient." For contrast with these seal-inscriptions a rather different *memento mori* idea may be quoted from one of the tales of the Caliph Haroun al-Raschid (Claud Field, *Tales of the Caliphs*, London, 1909, p. 81). Abu'l Kasim shows the Caliph his treasures, amongst which, on a throne of gold, the embalmed figure of their first owner is seated, with an inscription stating: "Whosoever shall see me in the condition I now am in, let him open his eyes; let him reflect that I once was living like himself, and that he will one day die like me. . . . Let him make use of it (the treasure) to acquire friends and to lead an agreeable life; for when the hour appointed for him is come, all these riches will not save him from the

---

[125] See *Abhandlung über die Siegel der Araber, &c.*, by Freiherr Hammer-Purgstall, 1848, pp. 6, 8, 9. I am indebted to Dr. Oliver Codrington for reference to this paper.

[126] J. T. Reinaud, *Description des Monuments Musulmans du Cabinet de M. le Duc de Blacas*, Paris, 1828, vol. ii. p. 292, and Pl. iv. No. 128. For this reference I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. J. Allan.

common destiny of men." In regard to passive fatalistic ("Kismet") attitudes towards death and the events of life (see Part II., Heading XVI.), another Oriental seal of the Blacas Collection [127] may be instanced, the inscription on which signifies that it is "of no avail to defend one's self against destiny."

Memento mori death's heads (sometimes pierced for use as rosary beads or for suspension in various ways) are met with in ivory, rock-crystal, amber, silver, &c. In the British Museum is an Ancient Mexican rock-crystal death's head, that is to say, a mass of rock-crystal cut and polished in the shape of a human skull. It is nearly if not quite as large as an average adult skull, and is referred to by G. F. Kunz in his *Gems and Precious Stones of North America* (2nd edition, 1892, p. 285), who says that similar skulls exist in the Blake Collection (United States National Museum), the Douglas Collection (New York), and the Trocadéro Museum (Paris). A much larger rock-crystal skull is in the possession of G. H. Sisson of New York, measuring $18\frac{3}{16}$ inches in length, $15\frac{3}{8}$ inches in width, and $15\frac{11}{16}$ inches in height. Kunz (*loc. cit.*, p. 286) adds that the making of these rock-crystal skulls may have been suggested by the real skulls, incrusted with torquoise, &c., such as the Christy specimen now in the British Museum. The actual purpose, however, for which the Mexican rock-crystal skulls were made appears to be unknown. It seems to me quite possible that they were in some way connected with Aztec religious observances. One may recall the descriptions of the "teocallis" or temples of Ancient Mexico, and the gruesome rites practised by the priests,

[127] J. T. Reinaud, *loc. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 28, Pl. i. No. 8.

as they appeared to the Spanish conquerors. Cortes and his companions, on their arrival in the city of Mexico, found that human sacrifices to the Aztec idols were of very frequent occurrence, and saw human hearts which had evidently quite recently been torn out of the bodies of unfortunate victims. From the terraces of a lofty teocalli on to which the Aztec "Emperor," Montezuma II, conducted them, they could enjoy the fine view over the surrounding country, but at the shrines the loathsome smears of blood and nauseous odour contrasted most unpleasantly with a dazzling display of gold and gems or precious stones.

Jean de Dinteville, Lord of Polisy, as represented in Holbein's picture (1533) known as "The Ambassadors," wore a hat-jewel formed of a silver skull set in gold. The enamelled gold hat-medallion (sixteenth century) in the British Museum, with the original owner's name, Carolus von Sternsee, bears an elaborate allegorical device (relating to the fickleness of fortune and the uncertainty of human life, and to the world, the flesh, the devil, life, death, &c.), in which both death (a skeleton) and the devil figure. Skulls, skeletons, and decaying bodies, as *memento mori* devices in jewelry, just as in paintings and engravings, were frequently represented with long worms, snakes, toads, &c., that is to say, being "eaten by worms," the idea having been doubtless chiefly suggested by the well-known passage in *Ecclesiasticus* (ch. x. ver. 11): "For when a man is dead he shall inherit creeping things, beasts, and worms."

In the British Museum are several *memento mori* carved ivories of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, mostly made as beads, or for suspension. One represents a human head and a human skull back to back; the

face of the former is "eaten by worms;" in the mouth of the latter a toad is visible; on the forehead of the face is the inscription in black letters, "à la saint . . ." on the frontal bone of the skull is: "point de devant à la mort."[128] Another of these ivories represents on one half a lady's head and on the other her skull, below which is a pair of scales.[129] Another has on one side the head of a woman (head-dress of the early sixteenth century), with the inscription: ELLAS NEST (?) IL POINT POSSIBLE TAN ECHAPER; below: MEMENTO; on the other side are the head and shoulders of a skeleton.[130] An elaborate one (of about 1600) has on one side the head of a moribund person, on whose forehead is a band inscribed, "dura et aspera;" on the other side is a skull with worms; below are two gold labels enamelled with INRI and MARIA; from the base hangs a small gold enamelled pendant representing two hearts crowned; at the top a small chain is attached for suspension.[131] In the Victoria and Albert Museum (Mr. Pierpont Morgan's collection in the Loan Court) are exhibited some similar carved ivories (of the sixteenth century). Two have on one half the head of a man, and on the other half his bare skull.[132] Another has on one side the head of a youth (sixteenth-century dress), and on the other side the upper part of a skeleton, with the inscription, COGITA MORI. Another has on one side the portrait of a woman, and on the other side the upper

[128] *Catalogue of the Ivory Carvings of the Christian Era in the British Museum*, London, 1909, p. 148, No. 441.

[129] *Ibid.*, p. 148, No. 442.

[130] *Ibid.*, p. 149, No. 443.

[131] *Ibid.*, p. 149, No. 444.

[132] Mr. Henry Oppenheimer has kindly shown me a similar rock-crystal bead in his collection, representing on one side a human face and on the other side a skull.

portion of a skeleton, with the inscription: V. QVOT (?) ERIS ("See what you will be"). Another represents the portraits of husband and wife, and on the other side (back to back with them), a skeleton with worms.

Here one may mention certain jewels, small bronzes, &c., bearing devices referring in one way or another to the subject of death. Mr. W. T. Ready has kindly given me an illustration (Fig. 55) of an early sixteenth-cen-

Fig. 55.—German shell-cameo of the sixteenth century.

tury German shell-cameo, which is circular, 1·1 inch in diameter, and mounted in a silver-gilt setting of the time. It represents a nude man and a nude woman seated facing, with a figure of Death, holding a scythe, standing between them in the background. The woman has two infants in her arms, one of whom is being seized by Death. Before the man is an anvil, on which he is hammering a child, whilst he grasps another child tightly between his knees. This device[133] appears to me to represent a somewhat pessimistic view of life (man, woman, and children) and death. The child is

[133] The arrangement of the device may have been suggested by some group representing Venus in the workshop of Vulcan.

thrust naked into the world to take part in the trials and penalties and pains of life, whether he wishes or not; death stands by, awaiting him, and often seizes him, not during his troubles, when he is being hammered on the anvil, but when he is happy and contented with life and does not wish to die. I would further explain the device by the help of the type on the medals (dated respectively 1458 and 1466), already described and figured (Figs. 13 and 14) in Part III., by Giovanni Boldu of Venice, representing a nude man seated, hiding his face with his hands, with a winged child and a skull before him. Compare the passage in Goethe's *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* (part i. cap. xiii.):—

"Wer nie sein Brod mit Thränen ass,
Wer nie die kummervollen Nächte
Auf seinem Bette weinend sass,
Der kennt euch nicht, ihr himmlischen Mächte.

"Ihr führt ins Leben uns hinein,
Ihr lasst den Armen schuldig werden,
Dann überlasst ihr ihn der Pein,
Denn alle Schuld rächt sich auf Erden."

In this connexion another medal, made by Boldu in 1458, may likewise be referred to. It represents the artist's bust on the obverse, with inscription in Greek and Hebrew. On the reverse (Fig. 56) is a young man, nude, seated to left, resting his head on his right arm. Under him is a skull, and behind him an old woman is striking him with a whip. In front of him is a winged angel, holding a cup, evidently an allusion to Christ's agony in the Garden (cf. pictures of Christ's agony by Giovanni Bellini, &c.). Above is the sun. The legend is: OPVS · IOANIS · BOLDV · PICTORIS · VENETI · MCCCCLVIII. This medal, cast in bronze, 3·4 inches

FIG. 56.—Reverse (reduced) of a medal by Giovanni Boldu of Venice. (After Heiss.)

FIG. 57.—Italian bronze statuette (fifteenth century ?), representing an allegory of life.

in diameter, is described by A. Armand (*Les Médailleurs Italiens*, 2nd edition, 1883, vol. i. p. 36, No. 2) and A. Heiss (*Les Médailleurs de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1887, vol. i., Venetian medals, pl. ii. No. 1).

I will here likewise refer to a little Italian bronze figure of Boldu's time (Fig. 57), for permission to illustrate which I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Henry Oppenheimer, in whose collection it is. This bronze statuette (5·5 × 5 × 2·15 inches) represents a naked boy seated on the ground in a meditative attitude, leaning with his left elbow on an hour-glass, and with his right hand supporting a skull on his right knee; a snake issuing from the skull is coiled round the boy's arm. The base of the statuette is inscribed—

IL · TEMPO · PASSA · E · LA · MORTO (*sic*) · V(I)EN.
GVARITO (?) LVI (?) · CHI · NON · FA · BEN ·
FAC(CI)AMO · MAL · E · SPER(I)AMO · I(L) · BE(N) ·
IL · TEMPO · P(A)SSA · E · LA · MO(RTE) · V(I)E(N) ·

The actual appearance of the part of the inscription for which the words "guarito lui" are suggested is:

This inscription is apparently one of consolation for those who find life wretched or who take a pessimistic view of life, suggesting that when death comes it comes as a cure for the miseries of life. Mr. A. M. Hind has kindly directed my attention to a somewhat similar design in a Florentine woodcut by an unknown master of the fifteenth century, reproduced by G. Hirth and R. Muther in their work on *Meister-Holzschnitte* (Muenchen, 1893, Plate 31). The woodcut represents a naked boy leaning on a skull with an hour-glass on the trunk of a tree at his head and the inscription: LHORA PASSA.

A German medal of about 1634 by Christian Maler, which I omitted to describe in its proper place in Part III., may be mentioned here on account of the pessimistic type of its reverse, which likens human life to soap-bubbles, and might have been inspired by *Ecclesiastes*. The obverse is the same as that of Christian Maler's *memento mori* medal figured in Part III. (Fig. 25), which was copied from another medal (Fig. 23) supposed to relate to the death of Anna Cathrina, daughter of King Christian IV of Denmark. But the reverse (Fig. 58) represents a boy seated on

FIG. 58.

the ground, leaning on a death's head, and playing with soap-bubbles. Inscription: OMNES BULLÆ SUM(VS) INSTAR ("We are all like a bubble");[134] in the exergue, C · PRIVIL · CÆ · C · M · (the ordinary signature of the medallist, Christian Maler). I am indebted for the illustration of this piece to the sale catalogue, by Otto Helbing of Munich, 1901, of the J. J. Schrott Collection, in which it formed No. 1443. My attention was kindly drawn to the existence of the piece by Mr. A. E. Cahn of Frankfurt-a.-M.

[134] Cf. the Greek saying, Πομφόλυξ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ("Man is a bubble"); "Shadows we are and like shadows depart" (on a sun-dial); "Shadows we are and shadows we pursue" (as alluded to by Edmund Burke).

Dr. H. R. Storer has kindly drawn my attention to a memorial medal of Tomas Ernsthuyse, who died in 1684, shortly after he had been appointed Governor-General of the Dutch Indies. The medal is figured by G. van Loon (*Histoire metallique des Pays-Bas*, French edition, 1732, vol. 3, p. 286), and bears on the reverse the device of a child blowing bubbles, with the inscription, MEMENTO MORI.

In Thomas Wright's introduction to Fairholt's *Miscellanea Graphica* (London, 1856, p. 63), a curious seventeenth-century jewel in the Londesborough Collection is illustrated, which appears to have belonged to King James I of England. It is a silver apple containing a small skull, the top of which opens like a lid. Inside the skull are representations of the Creation and the Resurrection, with the inscription: "Post mortem vita eternitas."

Watches of the seventeenth century were occasionally made in the form of a death's head, so as to serve *memento mori* purposes, reminding one that with every hour one is nearer one's end, and that hours misspent cannot be regained. In this respect they resemble old sun-dials and clocks with quaint *memento mori* inscriptions. Compare the words of Thomas à Kempis, "Memento semper finis, et quia perditum non redit tempus"—which could have been used for an inscription on a sun-dial or a clock.

Amongst *memento mori* jewels in the British Museum are locket-like pendants (seventeenth century) shaped like a coffin, containing the minute figure of a skeleton. One of these coffin-shaped pendants is of gold, enamelled, bearing the words, COGITA MORI VT VIVAS ("Think of dying so that you may live"). Another in silver is inscribed with the name of the deceased. A locket-like memorial pendant of a later date in the possession of

Lady Evans is in the shape of a minute coffin; the lid is made to open on a hinge, and in the inside is some hair in an ornamental border of gold thread, with a death's head (there were originally doubtless two death's heads) and the initials P.B. in fine gold wire; the back is inscribed: "P.B. obit y^e^ 17 Mar: 1703 Aged 54 years."

A little pendant (early seventeenth century) in the British Museum is of gold and enamel in the form of a skull;[135] in the interior of the skull, which opens on a hinge, is a minute enamelled figure of a skeleton with an hour-glass under its neck as a pillow. A small heart-shaped memorial locket of gold, enamel, and gold thread ornamentation (late seventeenth century) represents a skeleton emerging from a tomb, with an angel on either side, trumpeting the resurrection; below is the monogram of the deceased, with the inscription, COME YE BLESSED. A small memorial brooch of the same period and kind of work bears the device of a figure seated at a table with open book, candle, and death's head; and the legend, LEARN TO DIE. A small eighteenth-century mourning brooch exhibited in the Victoria and Albert Museum has a miniature painting of the deceased's relatives mourning at his tomb, in the usual style of the period, with the inscription, HEAVEN HAS IN STORE WHAT THOV HAST LOST.

[135] It is figured in F. W. Fairholt's *Miscellanea Graphica* (London, 1856, Pl. i. Figs. 3, 4) from the Londesborough Collection, but is now exhibited in the Gold Ornament Room of the British Museum.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

With the admonitory devices and inscriptions on sepulchral monuments and memorial medals, finger-rings, &c., may be compared some of those on funeral palls. The hearse-cloth or state pall of the Vintners' Company of London, still preserved at the Company's Hall, bears, amongst other devices in embroidery, four representations of Death, supporting a coffin with one hand, and in the other holding a spade. Above these four figures are labels with the following inscriptions: (1) "Morere ut vivas," *i.e.* "Die so that you may live (for ever);" (2) "Mors p(ec)catoru(m) pessima," *i.e.* "The death of sinners is most wretched;" (3) Moriri disce quia morieris," *i.e.* "Learn to die because you shall die;" (4) "Mors justoru(m) vita a(n)i(m)aru(m)," *i.e.* "The death of the just is the life of souls."[136] Similar state hearse-cloths are in the possession of several other City Companies: the Merchant Taylors' Company possess two; the Ironmongers', the Fishmongers', the Brewers', the Saddlers', each possess one.

Charon's Money (see p. 132).

For a notice on the subject of the "danacé," and "gold bracteates," see especially E. Babelon's *Traité des Monnaies Grécques*, vol. i. part i. (1901), pp. 514–519 and pp. 629–633. See also A. Sortin-Dorigny, "Obole funéraire en or de Cyzique," *Revue Numismatique*, Paris, 3rd series, 1888, vol. vi. p. 1.

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[136] Compare the following admonitory inscription, for which I am indebted to Dr. J. A. Arkwright:—

"Vive diu, sed vive Deo; nam vivere mundo
Mortis opus, viva est vivere vita Deo."

"Live long, but live for God; for to live for the world is death's work; to live for God is the living life." This advice is addressed to the reader on a sepulchral monument (1628) in Cuckfield Church, Sussex.

For these references I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. W. Wroth. If Mr. J. C. Lawson (*Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion*, Cambridge, 1910, pp. 111 *et seq.*) is right in supposing that the coin or coin-like object placed between the teeth or in the mouth of a corpse was ever intended to serve as an amulet to prevent an evil spirit from entering, or the soul of the deceased from re-entering, the dead body, then of course the ancient custom of providing the dead with "Charon's money" may indeed be regarded as to some extent connected with the Eastern European belief in "vampires."

THE SUICIDE OF LUCRETIA, IN WORKS OF ART OF THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES, AS AN EXAMPLE OF FEMALE VIRTUE (see pp. 47, 48, 70).

A Latin epigram on the subject, attributed to Beza, is printed in Abraham Wright's *Delitiae Delitiarum* (Oxford, 1637, p. 14). It has been translated as follows by Dr. George Turnbull (*vide* H. P. Dodd, *The Epigrammatists*, 1870, p. 134):—

> "If Tarquin's wrong, Lucretia, pleased your soul,
> Death was but justice for a crime so foul;
> But if by strength alone his will he had,
> To die for his misdoings proves you mad:
> Then be no more the matron's boast and pride,
> You lived a wanton, or a fool you died."

In the romance and art of the Middle Ages Lucretia's place as the legendary paragon of all female purity and honour may be compared with that of Helen of Troy as the legendary ideal of all female beauty. Hence Cervantes, in his immortal novel, makes Don Quixote proclaim, in imitation of mediaeval romance, that Aldonza Lorenzo is "fairer than Helen and purer than Lucretia."

INDEX.

(*This does not include the main headings to be found in the Table of Contents.*)

Abondio, Antonio, medallist, 80
Accolti, Francesco, wrongly supposed medal of, 52
Admonitory inscriptions and devices on carved ivories, beads, &c., 143–145
Admonitory inscriptions and devices on finger-rings, seals, and jewelry, 133–143, 150, 151
Admonitory inscriptions and devices on medals and medal-like tokens, 57, 86–97
Admonitory inscriptions and devices on sepulchral monuments, funeral palls, &c., 57, 88, 89, 152
Aeschylus, 35
Affre, D. A., Archbishop of Paris, 46, 110
Age and other circumstances in regard to man's aspect of death, 25
Agnes, Saint, 64
Agony, the, 146, 147
Agrate, Marco, 24
Alexis, 55
Altruism, 44, 49, 50
"Ambassadors," The, Holbein's picture known as, 24, 58, 134
Ambition and the pursuit of Fortune, leading to death, 22, 102
Anabaptist "levellers," 42
Anatomical theatres in former times, 19
Angel of Death, 52, 124
Anna Cathrina, daughter of King Christian IV of Denmark, medal of, 85–90
Antinous and Hadrian, 47
Appuleius, the romance of the "Golden Ass," 120
Argyle and Monmouth, execution of, 1, 36, 101, 102
"Arms of Death" ("Wappen des Todes"), 12–14
Arondeaux, R., 102
Artistic philosophy of death, 12
Aspects of Death, 26–56
Aspects of Life. *See* LIFE
Atonement by death, 37
Augustine, Saint, 34
Aury (or Avry), medallist, 99
Ausonius, 5, 27, 55
Azrael, 124
Aztec religious rites, 142, 143

Bacon, Francis, 4, 15
Badham, C., 27
Balanzano, Pietro, 75
Ball, John, 42
Barneveldt, J. van Olden, 38, 46, 85
Bartholomew, Saint, Massacre of the Huguenots, called "of Saint Bartholomew," 80, 81
Bartholomew, Saint, statue at Milan, 24
Beaumont and Fletcher, 22, 135
Bees, in the carcase of a steer or lion, 122
Bees, swarming from the moon (cosmic bull), 122
Beham, B., 17, 18, 77
Beham, H. S., 17, 41
Bellini, Giovanni, 146
Bertoldo di Giovanni, 67
Beza's epigram on Lucretia, 48, 153
Billroth, 58
"Black Brunswickers" and "Black Hussars," 38, 39
Blair, Robert, 23
Blake, William, 23, 56
Boecklin, A., 23
Boldu, Giovanni, medals by, 65–67, 146–147

Bombarda (Andrea Cambi), medallist, 81
Boscoreale wine-cups, 7–10
Bowcher, Frank, medallist, 112
Boyne, battle of the, 103
"Bracteates" (gold), "Charon's money," 32, 132, 152
Brearcliffe (or Briercliffe), John, surgeon of Halifax, 97, 98
Brettauer, J., 58
Briçonnet, Robert, medal of, 52
Briosco, Andrea (surnamed Riccio), bronze by, 70
Bristowe prize-medal, 105
Browne, Sir Thomas (*Religio Medici*), 55
Brutus and Cassius, 62, 63
"Brutus," the Tuscan, 64, 76
"Bubble" of life, 55, 149, 150
Buddha, the "Jatakas," 32
Buerger's ballad, *Leonore*, 23
Bunyan, John, 135
Burgkmair, Hans, 17
Butterfly and skull on antique gems, 119, 120, 130
Butterfly and torch on antique gems, 120, 121, 128
Butterfly (for Psyche or the human soul) on antique gems, 118–124, 128
Byng, Admiral, and the loss of Minorca, 1, 36, 106

Caius, Dr., monument of, 34, 84
Cambi, Andrea ("Il Bombarda"), medallist, 81
Candida, Jean de, medallist, 52
Cap-jewels and cap-pieces, 58, 143
Carlyle, Thomas, 53
"Carpe diem" advice, 10, 11, 114
Casca, 2
Cassius and Brutus, 62, 63
Cavino, Giovanni, medallist, 76
Cervantes, 153
Charles I, of England, execution of, 38, 91, 92, 138
Charles I, of England, memorial finger-rings of, 138
Charles II, of England, death of, 100, 101
Charles IX, of France, and the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, 81
Charon in his boat, 114
"Charon's money," 32, 132, 133, 152
Charun (Etruscan demon), 11, 89, 124, 125
Cheselden prize-medal, 104
Chevalier, A., engraver, 111
Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, monument of, 57, 88
Chinese ideas of death, 14
Chosroës I, of Persia, 140
Chuang Tzu, Chinese mystic, 14
Cicero, 4, 5, 35, 55
Coffin-shaped bezels of finger-rings, 136
Coffin-shaped pendants (jewels), 150
"Coffin-ships," 40, 111
Coins, medals, and medal-like tokens relating to the subject of death, 57–112
Combe, William, 23
Congreve, W., 3
Consolation, philosophical, for death, 5, 28, 42
Corn, ears of, as a Christian emblem, 86, 98
Courtenay epitaph, the, 51, 52
Croesus, King of Lydia, advice of Solon, 70, 71
"Crown" of life, 36, 53
"Crown" of martyrs, 31, 44, 53, 91, 92
Crucifixion, the, on medals, 44
Cupid and Psyche, 120–122, 128
Cupid and skeleton, 117
Cupid and torch, 120, 121, 128
Curtius, M., 47, 70

Dance of Death ("Danse Macabre"), 12–19, 23, 42
Dante, 24
Daubeny, C. G. B., 105
David d'Angers, 109, 110
David, Louis, 110
Death. *See* CONTENTS, vii, viii
Destruction and ruin, death's head as emblem of, 40
Devil, hell, and death, 12, 15, 37, 107, 143
Diane de Poitiers and her mourning jewelry, 135
Dinteville, Jean de, Lord of Polisy, portrait of, 24, 58, 134
Diogenes Laertius, 55, 60, 61
Dion Cassius, 62
Dishonour, death rather than, 45, 46, 82
Doddridge, Philip, 48
Domenico da Pescia, companion of Savonarola, 68
Dorothea, Queen of Denmark, 78
Dryden, 116

Duerer, Albrecht, 12–14, 72, 73
Duty, 45

Ecclesiastes, 41, 50, 97, 101, 141, 149
Ecclesiasticus, 4, 7, 15, 35, 49, 50, 56, 143
Edict of Nantes, revocation of, 102
Egoïsm, 44, 48, 50
Egyptian amulets (scarabs, &c.) placed with mummies, 131, 132
Egyptian ideas of death, 6, 7, 31, 131, 132
Eldred, Anne, 99
Eleusinian Mysteries and coins of Eleusis, 31, 61, 62, 132
Empedocles, 60, 61
Epicurus and "Epicurean" views, 5–11, 48, 50, 55, 114–117, 120, 121
Epidemic diseases and sudden death, 12, 19, 23, 28, 92
Erasmus and the devices on his medals and seals, 20, 25, 70–74, 139, 140
Erichsen, Sir John, 43, 108
Ernsthuyse, Tomas, 150
Eros. *See* CUPID
Eternity, emblems of, 31, 97, 128
Etruscan ideas of death, 11, 124, 125
Evolution, 28, 53

False faith, 45
Fame, posthumous, 34, 35, 116, 117
Fear of death, vi, 2
Fechter, medallist, 92
Ferdinand I, Emperor, 56
Fiamma, Gabrielle, Bishop of Chioggia, 81
"Fortune," the medallist à la, 69
Fothergillian medal of the Royal Humane Society (London), 43, 108
Francis I, of France, 45
Franco, Goffredo, 79
Franklin, Benjamin, 51
Free will, 3, 54
Friendly death, 35

Galeotti, P. P., called Romano, medallist, 79, 80, 82
Gallicia, so-called "Massacres" of, 109
Galvani, Aloisio, 108
"Gaudeamus igitur," 11, 115
Gellert, C. F., 4
Gems (engraved) and jewelry, relating to the subject of death, 113–151
Genesis, 42
Genius of death, 114, 119, 124, 125
Genius of sleep, 114. *See also under* HYPNOS
Gidley, Bartholomew, funeral of, 101
Girard, Philippe de, 112
Gisze, Georg, Holbein's portrait of, 53
Goethe, 51, 66, 146
"Golden Ass," the, of Appuleius, 120
Goujon, Jean, 4
Gozzoli, Benozzo, 16
Grandval, execution of, 36, 104
Greek and Roman ideas regarding death, 3–10
Gregory XIII, Pope, and the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, 80, 81
Grief for the death of others, 56

Harmodios and Aristogeiton, 38
Haroun al-Raschid, tale of, 141
Hat-jewels and hat-pieces, 58, 143
Hearse-cloths with admonitory devices, 152
Helen of Troy and Lucretia in mediaeval romance, 153
Henley, W. E., 54
Henneberg, R., 22
"Hermes-busts," 31, 118
Hermes on engraved gems in connexion with magic and necromancy, 126, 127
Hermes on engraved gems in connexion with Pythagorean and Orphic doctrines, 126, 127
Hermes psychopompos or psychagogos, 31, 114, 119, 120, 123, 124
Herodias on an engraved gem, mediaeval imagination, 46
Herodotus, 6
Herrick, R., 11
Hesychius, 133
Hippocratic aphorism, 50, 105, 106
Hohenauer, Michael, medallist, 64
Hojer, George, 98
Holbein, the younger, 12, 14, 19, 21, 24, 53, 58, 74, 134
Homer, 124
Hong-Kong, bubonic plague at, 112
Honour, 45–48
Hope, 45, 55
Horace, 2, 3, 9, 10, 19, 26, 34, 40, 41, 73, 114
Horatius Cocles, 47

Hotham, Sir John, 91
Huguenots, persecution and massacre of, 80, 81, 102
Huss, John, 46, 64
Hypnos, 31, 114, 118, 119, 124. *See also under* SLEEP AND DEATH

Iconography of death, 1
Immortality of germ-plasm, doctrine of, vi, 43
Immortality of the soul, 28–33
Immortality through posthumous fame, 34, 35, 116, 117
Innocence and mindfulness of death, 49, 67, 129, 130
Ivory pendants, &c., shaped like human heads (and skulls) being "eaten by worms," 143–145

Jewelry and gems, relating to the subject of death, 113–151
Jewelry for sepulchral purposes, tinsel-like character of, 133
Job, 22, 87
John, Saint, 30, 85, 134
Johnson, Bartholomew, a centenarian, 56
Jortin's *Life of Erasmus*, 74, 139
Julius Caesar, murder of, 62
Juvenal, 27, 137

Kempis, Thomas à, 51, 79, 150
"Kismet" attitude, 54, 142
Kleinert, F., medallist, 103
Korn, Onophrius, 79

Labour and rest, 52, 53
Lares, 117
La Rochefoucauld, vi
"Larvae," in ancient art, 6, 8, 114–117, 130
Lawrence, Saint, 64, 65
Lecky, W. E. H., 4, 5, 9, 34, 50, 117
Leiden Anatomical Theatre, 19
"Lemures," 117
Lenthall (Speaker), 139
Leonardo da Vinci, 35, 53
Lessing, G. E., 114
Le Tellier, Michel, medal of, 99
Leveller, Death, the, 41, 42
"Levellers," Anabaptist, 42
Life, affected by aspects of death, vi, 2–56, 87–90, 143–152
Life after death, 28–33, 51
Life, allegories of, 147–150
Life, altruistic, 49–51
Life and honour, 45
Life and time, 51
Life, aspects of, with regard to ideas of death, vi, 2–56, 87–90, 143–152
Life, "bubbles" of, 55, 149, 150
Life, compared to a shadow, 149
Life, compared to a short dream, 23
Life, compared to a soap-bubble, 55, 149, 150
Life, compared to a stage, 9, 10
Life, free-will in regard to, 54
Life, "Kismet" attitude towards, 54
Life, not to be wasted in useless mourning, 56
Life of activity, 49–51
Life of contemplation and meditation, 20, 49, 50
Life of pain and misery, 35
Life of pleasure, 5–11, 48, 50, 55, 114–117, 120, 121
Life, pessimistic attitudes towards, 54, 55
Life, shortness of, 50, 51
Life, to be thought of, rather than death, 2, 51
Life, useful, 49–51
Life, without hope, 55
Litta, Alberto, 80
Longfellow, 51
Longono, Cristoforo, portrait of, 137
Lorenzetti, 16
Louis XVI, of France, execution, 38
Love, manifested by death, 52
Love. *See also under* CUPID and *under* PSYCHE
Lucan, 5, 41, 55
Lucian, 32, 133
Lucretia, Roman legend and mediaeval romance, 48, 70, 153
Lucretius, 5, 6, 33, 113, 121
Luther, Dr. Martin, 29, 53, 134

Macaber dance ("Danse Macabre"), 12–19, 23, 42
Macarius, Saint, and the "Danse Macabre," 16
Magic and necromancy represented on antique gems, 126, 127, 130, 131
Malaria in Ancient Greece and Sicily, 59–61
Maler, Christian, medallist, 90, 149

Manilius, 17, 19, 25, 27, 29, 69, 77, 78, 83, 95, 97
Manlius Torquatus, 47
Marcus Aurelius, 34, 117
Marston, John, 134
Martial, 35, 84
"Martyrdom," involuntary, 45
Martyrs, 33, 44, 64, 102, 110
Marzi, Galeotto, 68
Massinger, 134
"Medallic newspapers" ("toy-shop" medals and political tokens), 1, 36, 37, 106–108
Medals and medal-like tokens relating to the subject of death, 57–112
Mediaeval ideas of death and hell, 11–22
Medical and social attitude towards unnecessary death, 43
Medici, Alexander de', Duke of Florence, 75
Medici, Giuliano de', 67
Medici, Lorenzo de', 67
Medici, "Lorenzino" de', 75, 76
Meister des Amsterdamer Kabinets, 14
Meister I. A. M. von Zwolle, 15
Meister mit der Weberschütze, 15
Meister von 1480, 14
Memento mori, 3, 19, 26, 70, 71
Memento mori rings and other objects in old English literature, 22, 135
Menas, Saint, 64
Mercandetti, medallist, 108
Mercury. *See* Hermes
Metempsychosis, 28, 31, 32, 122, 126, 127
Metsys, Quentin, portrait of Erasmus, 72
Metternich, and so-called "Massacres of Gallicia," 109
Mexican death's heads cut out of rock-crystal, 142
Milton, 28
Minorca, loss of, 1, 36, 106
Misery, 35, 52, 53
Mitchell, Sir A., 35
Mithraism and the moon, 122
Moderno, bronze plaques by, 70
Monkish ideals, 20, 49
Monmouth and Argyle, execution of, 1, 36, 101, 102
Moon-god and bee, 122
Moore, Sir John, 47
"Moralische Pfenninge" of Basel, 11, 92–94
"Morality" medal-like tokens, 11, 92–94
"Morality" stories and plays of the Middle Ages, 14
More, Sir Thomas, 20
Moro, Tommaso, of Venice, 75
Mouchon, L. E., 55, 112
Mueller, P. H., medallist, 103
Munk, Christina, her eldest daughter, Anna Cathrina, 87
Murillo, 24

Nantes, Edict of, revoked, 102
Napoleon I, 51
Necromancy and magic represented on antique gems, 126, 127, 130, 131
Nelson, 47
Neufarer, Ludwig, medallist, 64
Nicolson, Josias, 100
Nosce teipsum, 137
Nothnagel, Prof. H., 3
Notker Balbulus, of St. Gall, 27

Occo, Adolph, physician, 84
Omar Khayyam, 10
Orcagna, 16
Oriental ideas of death, 141
Orpheus and Orphic doctrines, 32, 122, 126, 127, 131
Orpheus, in Christian symbolism, 122, 126
Ovid, 3, 117, 130

Pain, 35, 52, 53
Pain and pleasure, 53
Paine, Thomas, the "end of pain" series of tokens, 37, 107, 108
Palladas, 10
Palls, funeral, with admonitory devices, 152
Parmigiano (Federigo Bonzagna), medallist, 80
Parmigiano, Lorenzo, medallist, 75
"Parting scenes," sepulchral, in ancient art, 11, 89, 113, 124, 125
Paul, Saint, 29, 84, 134
Pavia, Certosa di, façade of, 67
Pazzi conspiracy, 67
Peacock, as a symbol of immortality, 127, 128
Perseus, legend of, vi
Persius, 116
Pessimism, 10, 54, 55, 140, 141, 145–150
Petrarch, 24
Petronius, 3, 6, 10

Pherecrates, 133
Phoenix, 29, 75, 94, 128, 129
Pig, associated with Epicurus, 9
Plato, 4
Plato, supposed portraits of, on antique gems, 31, 118, 119
Playfair, Lord, 35
Pleasure and pain, 53
Plimsoll, Samuel, 40, 110, 111
Plutarch, 7, 70
Political medals and "tokens," 1, 36, 37, 106–108
Political murders and political executions, 36
Pollajuolo, Antonio del, 67
Pollux, Julius, of Naucratis, 133
Pope, the, and *les trois morts*, 16
Porphyrius (*De Antro Nympharum*), 122
Pozzi, J. H., 105
Predestination, 54
Prevention of unnecessary death, 43
Procuresses and loose women wearing *memento mori* finger-rings, 134
Propertius, 27
Psyche and butterfly on engraved gems, 118–124, 128
Psyche and Cupid, 120–122, 128
Psyche, symbolical of sexual love, 120, 121, 128
Psyche, symbolical of the human soul, 118–124, 128
Pythagoras and Pythagorean doctrines, 32, 34, 119, 122, 126, 127

Quixote (Don), 153

Raimondi, Marcantonio, 17, 48
Raleigh, Sir Walter, 95
Rantzow, Frantz, death of, 87, 88
Realism, dreadful kind of, in art, 24
Regulus, 47
Reinhard, Hans, medals by, 44
Religious faith, 28–33
Rembrandt, 44
Respice finem, 26, 70, 71
Rest and labour, 52, 53
Rethel, A., 23, 35
Riccio (Andrea Briosco), bronze by, 70
Riccio, Domenico, 68
Rochefoucauld, vi
Rogat, E., medallist, 109
Roland, Madame, 33
Roman and Greek ideas regarding death, 3–10
Rosary beads shaped like death's heads, 142
Rosenbaum, Lorenz, goldsmith, 77, 78
Rowlandson, Thomas, 23

Sacrifices, human, 33, 131
Sallust, 101
Salviati, Francesco, Archbishop of Pisa, 67
Schiller, 97
Schomberg, Marshal, 47, 103
Scientific investigation of the causes of death, 43
Seal, "Solomon's," 140
Seals and signets with *memento mori* devices, 139
Seals of the Caliphs, 141
Seals, Oriental, to be distinguished from talismans, 140
Seals, Oriental, with inscriptions referring to death, 140–142
Second, Jean, medallist, 72
Selinus (Sicily), coins of, 59–61
Seneca, 3, 5, 15, 51, 117
Sepulchral monuments, Etruscan, 11, 89, 124, 125
Sepulchral monuments, Greek, 11, 89, 112
Sepulchral monuments, with admonitory inscriptions and devices, 57, 88, 89, 152
Sforza, Faustina, 81, 82
Shakespeare, 2, 6, 10, 22, 48, 56, 98, 135
"Shih King," the, of the Chinese, 10
Shirley, James, 41, 101
Silvester, H. R., 108
Simonides, 4
Skeleton and skull decorations in jewelry, 133–136, 150, 151
Skeleton and skull decorations on sepulchral monuments, 88, 89
Skeleton and wine-jar devices on Roman gems, 115, 120, 121
Skeletons and skulls in ancient art, 6–10, 114–117, 120, 121, 129, 130, 131
Skulls in ancient art. *See under* SKELETONS
Sleep and death, 35, 114, 119, 124, 125
Sleep (Hypnos), 31, 114, 118, 119, 124
Socrates, 4
Solario, portrait by, 137
"Solomon's seal," 140

Solon's advice to Croesus, 70, 71
Sophocles, 54
Soul, the human. *See under* PSYCHE
Spinoza, 2
Sternsee, Carolus von, hat-jewel of, 143
Stoic philosophers, 4, 9
Strozzi, Filippo, and the "Tuscan Brutus," 76
Suicide, 32, 33, 53
Sun-dial inscriptions, 51, 79, 149, 150
Sutteeism, 32, 33
Symonds, J. A., 6

Tacitus, 34, 45, 82
Tenniel, Sir John, design by, 111
Terence, 70
"Terminus" device of Erasmus, 25, 70–74, 139, 140
Thanatos (Death), 124, 125, 126
Theognis of Megara, 54
Threat of death, 36, 37
Time, waste of, is waste of life, 51
Torch of Cupid on Roman gems, 120, 121, 128
"Toy-shop" medals and political tokens, 1, 36, 37, 106–108
Transmigration of souls, 28, 31, 32, 122, 126, 127
Trimalchio's feast, 6
"Triumph of Death," in Petrarch's *Trionfi*, 24
"Triumph of Death," Pisan fresco, 16
"Trois Morts," Les, 14–17
Tuke, Sir Brian, portrait of, 21, 23, 24
Tulpius, motto of, 44
Turnbull, George, 153
"Tuscan Brutus," the ("Lorenzino" de' Medici), 76

Usteri, J. M., 11

Valdes Leal, 24
"Vampires," belief in, 23, 32, 33, 152, 153
Vasari's fresco of the "Massacre of St. Bartholomew," 81
Veneziano, Agostino, 17
Vérard's "Dance of Death" series, 16
Vernon, Admiral, medals on the capture of Porto Bello, 36
Victory over death, 29, 30, 41, 54, 83, 84
Vinci, Leonardo da, 35, 53
Virgil, vi, 81, 108, 122
Virginia, tokens wrongly supposed to refer to, 94–97
Virtue (or Valour) overcoming Death, 29, 30, 41, 54, 83, 84
Virtue (or Valour) withers without opposition, 52

Wadham, Nicholas and Dorothy, founders of Wadham College, Oxford, 85
Walpole, Sir Robert, satyrical medals of, 37
Walton, Izaak, 138
War, death's head badges in, 38, 39
Warton, Thomas, the younger, 125
Watches in the form of death's heads, 150
Webb, Jonas, medal of, 56
Weismann, August, 43
Westermarck, E., 33
Wiener, Charles, medallist, 56
Wilkinson, Sir J. G., 7
Winckelmann, 118
Wisdom of Solomon (Apocrypha), 10
Wither's *Emblems*, 96
Witt, de, brothers, 38, 46
"Wittenberger Pest-Thalers," 44
Wolfe, General, 40, 47
Wolff, Tobias, medallist, 82
Worms, snakes, and toads, in emblematic representations of death, 14, 15, 89, 143–145, 148
Worms, snakes, and toads, in jewelry, &c., 143–145
Wotton, Sir Henry, 139
Wyon, Allan, medallist, 112
Wyon, L. C., medallist, 111
Wyon, William, medallist, 43, 104, 105, 108

Young, Edward, 15, 23, 35, 36, 56

Zah, Sebastian, 80
Zeno, the founder of the Stoic philosophy, 8, 9
Zimmerman's Dance of Death series, 19

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CONTENTS.

PAGES

I.—INDEX of Authors, some Illustrators and Editors ... ... iii—vii

II.—INDEX in order of Titles, including a list of Mr. Unwin's various series of books ... ... viii—xv

III.—CATALOGUE, classified under the following subject-headings :—

1. Literary History ... ... 1—2
2. Poetry and the Drama ... ... 3—7
3. Novels, Humorous Works, Short Stories, &c. ... ... 8—32
4. Essays, Criticisms, Philosophy, &c. ... ... 33—34
5. Art and Music ... ... 35—37
6. Biography, Memoirs, Correspondence, &c.... ... ... 38—46
7. History and Historical Literature ... ... 47—59
8. Politics, Economics, Free Trade, &c. ... ... 59—66
9. Geography, Travel, Mountaineering, &c. ... ... 66—74
10. Natural History, &c. ... ... 74—77
11. Religion and Education ... ... 77—80
12. Domestic Literature ... ... 81—82
13. Books for Children ... ... 82—85
14. Varia ... ... 85—87
15. "The New Irish Library" "The Welsh Library" and "The International Review" 87

PAGE

Clyde, Constance 13
Cobbleigh, Tom 13
Cobden, Richard 39, 60
Cole, Timothy 35
Coleridge, Lord.....39, 49
Collet, Collet Dobson 60
Collingwood, S. D.....35, 39
Collodi, C. 82, 83
Compton, Henry 46
Congdon, Charles T. 40
Congreve, William..... 5
Conrad, Joseph 13
Conway, Sir William Martin .. 67
Cooke, Frances E. 83
Coolidge, W. A. B. 67
Copinger, W. A. 49
Corkran, Henriette 13
Cornaby, W. A. 67
Cornish, Vaughan 67
Costelloe, Ray..... 13
Cotterell, Constance 13
Courlander, Alphonse 13
Courtney, Leonard 60
Cowper, William 4
Cox, Harold 60, 61
Cox, Palmer 83
Cox, Rev. Samuel 77
Crampton, George 13
Crawford, F. Marion 13
de Crespigny, Mrs. Philip Champion 13
Crockett, S. R. 13
Crompton, Henry 61
Crottie, Julia M. 14
Cruikshank, George 82
Cruso, H. A. A. 4

Dale, T. F. 86
Dalin, Talmage 14
Dalton, Moray..... 14
Dalziel, James..... 14
Dana, Chas. A. 85
Danson, John Towne..... 61
Daudet, Alphonse.....82, 83
Davenport, Arthur 67
Davenport, Herbert Joseph.. 61
Davids, T. W. Rhys 49
Davidson, Augusta M. Campbell 68
Davidson, Lillias Campbell... 14
Davies, Mary 81
Davis, Richard Harding 68
Davis, Thomas 49, 87
Dawson, W. Harbutt..... 68
Dean, Mrs. Andrew 14
Deasy, H. H. P. 68
Defoe, Daniel 82, 83
von Degen 14
Degener, Herman A. L..... 86
Dekker, Thomas 5
De la Rey, Mrs. General 40
Dethridge, G. Olivia 33
Dew-Smith, Mrs. 14
Dewsnup, Ernest R. 61
Dickeson, Alfred 14
Dietrich, Max..... 85
Dietzel, H. 61
Dieulafoy, Marcel Auguste ... 49
Digby, William 68
Dillon, E. J. 78
Dittrich, Hermann 35, 75
Dodge, Walter Phelps 39, 49, 83
Douglas, Sir George 3
Douglas, Prof. R. K. 40
Dowie, Menie Muriel..... 46
Drachman, Holger 14
Drosines, Georgios....14, 82, 83
Drury, Robert 46

PAGE

Dryden, John 5
Dübi, H. 67
Duff, J. Wight..... 1
Duffy, Bella 49
Duffy, Sir Chas. Gavan 33, 39, 40, 49, 87
Duhamel, H. 67
Du Maurier 36
Dumillo, Alice 14
Dunckley, Henry 60
Dundas, Christian 14
Düntzer, Heinrich 40
Dutt. Romesh 14
Dutt, W. A..... 68
Dyer, John 4
van Dyke, John C. 35
Dyke, Watson 14

Eastwick, Robert W. 46
von Ebner-Eschenbach, Marie 14
Echegaray, Don José 4
Eckenstein, Oscar 68
Edwards, Owen M. 49, 87
van Eeden, F. 14
Egerton, Hugh E. 43
Eivind, R. 83
Elias, Frank 61
Eliot, George 68
Elizabeth of England, Princess 40
Ellenberger, Professor 35
Elliott, Ebenezer 61
Ellis, Havelock 56
Elphinstone, Lady..... 78
Elster, Ernst 4
Emerson, Ralph Waldo 40
Enock, C. Reginald 68
Erskine, Mrs. Steuart..... 35
Escott, T. H. S. 49, 61
Evans, Howard 42
Evans, S. Hope 83
Evans, Thomas W. 40
Evans, W. Sandford 85
Ewald, Alex. C. 5
Eyre-Todd, George 44

Faguet, Emile..... 1
Falconer, Lanoe 14
Farge (*See* La Farge).
Farquhar, George 5
Farrer, J. A. 14
Farrow, G. E..... 84
Fawcett, Mrs. Henry..... 65
Fegan, Bertie 86
Ferguson, Sir Samuel.... 14, 87
Ferri, Prof. Enrico..... 33
Field, Michael..... 4
Findlay, Frederick R. N. 68
Fisher, Harrison..... 35
Fisher, Lala 11
Fitz-Gerald, E. A..... 68
Fitzgerald, Percy..15, 35, 41, 50
Fitzmaurice-Kelly, J. 40
Flammarion, Camille 75
Fletcher, J. S. 15
Fletcher, John 5
Flowerdew, Herbert 15
Fogazzaro, Antonio 15
Ford, Douglas 44
Ford, John 5
Ford, Mary 83
Foreman, John 68
Forrest, J. Dorsey 50
Forrest, R. E. 15
Forster, L. M..... 81
Foster, George Burman..... 78
Foster, J. J.....35, 50
Foster, Sir Michael..... 38

PAGE

Frapan, Ilse 15
Fraser, John 15
Frazer, R. W. 1, 50
Frederic, Harold 15
Freeman, Prof. E. A. 50
French, Henry Willard 15
Fuller, Margaret 40
Furness, Annette 15
Furniss, Harry..... 36

Gaggin, John 68
Gambier, J. W. 40
Ganconagh (W. B. Yeats) 24
Gannon, John P. 50
Gardiner, A. G. 62
Gardiner, J. H. 78
Gardner, W. J. 50
Garnett, Richard 4, 45
Gebuza 61
Geen, Philip 85
George, E. A..... 78
Gertrude, Aunt 82
Gibb, E. J. W. 52
"Gil" 13
Gilman, Arthur 50, 52
Gilman, Daniel Coit 78
Gissing, George 15
Glover, John R. 42
Goethe, W. 4
Gomme, G. Lawrence 50, 61
Goodenough, Rev. G. 86
Gordon, Charles 50
Gordon, H. Laing 44
Gordon, Lady Duff 43
Gordon, William Clark 33
Gorky, Maxim 15
Gosse, Edmund 6
Gould, F. Carruthers 61, 84
Gould, G. M. 40
Grace, R. W. 84
Graham, R. B. Cunninghame . 68
Grant, Daniel 62
Graves, Alfred Perceval...43, 87
Gray, E. Conder 40
Gray, Thomas 50, 73
Greeley, Horace 40
Green, Anna Katherine 16
Greene, Robert 5
Gregory, Lady 34
Gribble, Francis 68
Grieve, Ed. B. 86
Griffiths, D. R. 16
Griffiths, Arthur 16, 50
Guarracino, Beatrice 81
Guest, Lady Charlotte....16, 87
Guyer, Michael F. 75
Gwynn, Stephen 36
Gyp 16

Hackwood, F. W. 86
Haldane, Richrad Burton.... 62
Hale, Susan 50
Hales, A. G. 16
Hall, Charles Cuthbert 78
Hall, Moreton 4
Hall, R. N. 68
Halpérine-Kaminski, H. 46
Hamilton, Cosmo 15
Hamilton, Lord Ernest 14
Hannah, J. E. 50
Hardie, J. Keir 65
Harding, Ellison..... 15
Hardy, Rev. E. J. 16, 41, 68, 78, 81, 87
Harland, Marian 81
Harper, S. Eccleston..... 32
Harper, William Rainy..... 78
Harrison, Mrs. Burton..... 16

	PAGE
Harrison, Mrs. Darent	16
Harrison, Jane E.	36
Harting, J. E.	75
Harvie-Brown, J. A.	75
Hasen, Ch. Downer	50
Hasler, G.	67
Hatfield, Henry Rand	86
Hauff, Wilhelm	83
Hawkesworth, Alfred	69
Hay, John	42
Hay, William	16
Hayden, Arthur	36
Heine, Heinrich	4
Heinemann, Karl	4
Hemans, Mrs.	87
Hennessey, J. W.	83
Henshaw, Julia W.	16
Henson, H. Hensley	78
Henty, G. A.	16, 85
Herbert, George	4, 78, 87
Herford, C. H.	5
Herrick, Christine Terhune	81
Herring, Frances E.	69
Hertz, Gerald Berkeley	50
Hertz-Garten, Theodor	16
Heywood, Thomas	5
Heywood, William	69
Hicks, John W.	86
Hill, Edmund L.	4
Hill, Geoffry	78
Hill, George Birkbeck	43
Hill, Robert T.	69
Hindlip, Lord	69
Hinkson, H. A.	17
Hirst, Francis W.	62
Hobbes, John Oliver	4, 17, 69
Hobhouse, L. T.	62
Hobson, J. A.	63, 69
Hocking, Silas K.	17
Hodgson, W. B.	62
Hoffmann, E. T. A.	83
Hogan, James Francis	62
Holdsworth, Annie E.	17
Holmes, Timothy	38
Holyoake, George Jacob	41, 62, 86
Honeyman, C. van Doren	69
Hornby, F. M.	33
Horne, H. P.	6
Horniman, Roy	18
Horridge, Frank	41
Horrwitz, Ernest	1
Horton, R. F.	78
Hosmer, Prof. James K.	50
Houghton, Louis Seymore	50
Howard, George Elliott	51, 78
Howe, Frederic C.	62
Howell, George	62
Hueffer, Ford H.	62, 83
Hudson, W. H.	18
Hug, Lina	51
Hugessen, Knatchbull	83
Hulbert, H. B.	73
Hulme, F. E.	75
Hume, Martin A. S.	43, 51, 72
Humphrey, Frank Pope	18
Humphrey, Mrs.	18, 81
Hungerford, Mrs.	18
Hyde, Douglas	2, 5, 78, 87
Ibsen, Henrik	5
Indicus	69
Ingersoll, Ernest	75
Iron, Ralph (Olive Schreiner)	26
Irving, Edward	75
Irving, Fanny Belle	18, 85
Irwin, H. C.	18
James, David H.	51
Jane, L. Cecil	51
Japp, Alex. H.	41
Javelle, Emile	69
Jay, Harriett	38
Jebb, Louisa	69
Jeffery, Walter	11, 18, 43
Jenkins, Rhys	86
Jenks, Edward	51
Jennings, Edward W.	18
Jephson, Henry	62
Jephson, Julie	38
Jepson, Edgar	18, 84, 87
Jernigan, T. R.	62
Jerningham, Sir Hubert	18
Jessopp, Augustus	18, 33, 51
Jewett, Sarah Orne	51
Johnson, Robert U.	51
Johnson, T. Broadwood	69
Jones, David Brynmor	51
Jones, H. Stuart	51
Jones, W. Lewis	2
Jonson, Ben	5
Jusserand, J. J.	2, 33, 52
de Kantzow, Alfred	3
Keary, C. F.	18
Keene, Charles	37
Keller, Gottfried	18
Kelly, J. D. J.	52
Kempster, Aquila	18
Kerr, S. Parnell	69
Kettle, Rose Mackenzie	19, 85
Kiesow, E. L.	85
Kildare, Owen	19
King, Clarence	69
King, Irving	78
King, Joseph	62
King, Richard Ashe	44, 87
Kingsford, C. L.	47
Kinross, Albert	19
Kitson, Arthur	63
Knight, William	39
Ko, Ta Sein	78
Kolokorones, Theodore	46
Korolenko, V.	19
Kroeker, Kate Freiligrath	83
Kruger, Paul	41
Kruger, Gustav	78
Kurz, Louis	67
La Farge	69
Lambe, J. Lawrence	19
Landon, Mary	19
Lane, Ralph	63
Lane-Poole, Stanley	52
Langbridge, Rosamond	19
Langland, William	2
Latane, John H.	52, 63
Lanyon, H. St. Martin	19
Laurenson, Arthur	41
Laverton, Mrs. H. S.	19
Law, Alice	3
Lawless, Emily	53
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid	61
Lawton, Frederick	36 42
Lear, Edward	45
Le Blond, Mrs. Aubrey	69, 70
Lebon, André	52
Le Bon, Gustave	33
Lee, Vernon	19, 33, 52
Lee-Hamilton, Eugene	19
Legge, Helen Edith	36
Leigh, M. Cordelia	79
Leland Ch. G. ("Breitmann")	19
Lentheric, Charles	70
Leroy-Beaulieu, P.	60
Levasseur, R.	63
Levy, Amy	5
Lewis, Frank C.	20
Leyds, W. J.	52
Liddell, Arthur R.	85
Lilly, W. S.	52
Litta, Duke	20
Little, A. G.	52
Little, Mrs. Archibald	20, 70
Lloyd, Albert B.	70
Lloyd, H. D.	63
Lloyd, Wallace	20
Locke, James	20
Loeb, Jacques	75
Lombroso, Prof. C.	34
Lonergan, W. F.	52
Lord, Walter Frewen	42
Lorraine, Rupert	20
Low, Sidney	63
Lowes, Mrs.	36
Lucas, Alice	79
Lumsden, James	70
Lunn, Henry S.	63
Lynch, E. M.	20, 87
Lyons, A. Neil	20
Lyons, Albert E.	20
Lyttelton, Edith	5
Mac, J.	70
McAulay, Allan	20
MacBride, MacKenzie	20
McCarthy, Justin	42, 52
McClelland, J.	63
McCormick, A. D.	67
MacDermott, Martin	34, 87
MacDonagh, Michael	39, 40, 87
Macdonald, Alexander	70
Macdonald, George	20
Macdonald, Leila	5
Macdonald, Robert	84
von Mach, Richard	63
McIlraith, J. R.	58
McIlwraith, J. N.	83
McKendrick, John G.	41
Mackintosh, C. W.	39
Mackintosh, John	53
McMahan, A. Benneson	70
McManus, Blanche	84
MacManus, James	20
McManus, L.	20
Macphail, Andrew	79
Macy, Jesse	63
Maddison, F.	42
Magnay, Sir William	20
Mahaffy, Prof. J. P.	53
Malet, Lucas	34
Mallet, Sir Louis	60, 63 66
Mallik, Manmath C.	34, 70
Mann, Mary E.	21, 87
Marble, Annie Russell	2
Mario, Jessie White	44, 53
Mark, H. Thiselton	79
Marlowe, Christopher	6
Marquis, T. G.	21
Marsh, Richard	21
Marshall, Thomas	34
Martin, Alfred J.	79
Martyn, Edward	21
Martyn, Ethel K.	33
Mason, Eugen	5
Maspero, G.	53
Massey, Gerald	53
Massinger, Philip	6
Massingham, H. W.	63
Masson, Gustave	53
Masterman, C. F. G.	34, 62
Mathews, Shailer	77, 79
Maude, Edwin	42
Maugham, W. Somerset	21
Maurice, C. Edmund	53
du Maurier, G.	36

INDEX in order of Titles.

	PAGE
Abbot (The)	26
Abyssinia (Sport and Travel)	69
Adam (Robert) Artist	35
Addresses	34
Adelphi Library (The)	8
Admiral Phillip	43
Admiral Vernon and the Navy	44
Adula Alps of the Leopontine Range (The)	67
Adventure Series (The)	46
Adventures of a Blockade Runner	46
Adventures of a Supercargo	10
Adventures of a Younger Son	46
Adventures of a Dodo	84
Adventures of James Shervington	10
Adventures on the Roof of the World	69
Æsop's Fables	83
Aga Mirza (The Adventures of)	18
Age of the Earth (The)	76
Alexander's Empire	53
Alfred the Great	4
Almayer's Folly	13
Along the Labrador Coast	72
Alpine Memories	69
Alps (My Climbs in the)	71
Alps to the Andes (From the)	73
Amazing Duke (The)	20
Amaranthus	4
Amaryllis	14
Ambassador (The)	4
America (Literary History of)	3
American Civil War (Battles and Leaders of the)	51
American Commerce	86
American Literature (Heralds of)	2
American Literature (Short History of)	1
American Opinion of the French Revolution	50
American Railway Organization	61
American Scholar (The)	79
American Workman (The)	63
Among the Man-Eaters	68
Among the People of British Columbia	69
Among the Syringas	21
Andes and the Amazon (The)	68
Anglo-Americans	12
Anglo-Italian Library (The)	66
Anglo-Saxon (The)	48
Animal Micrology	75
Animals I Have Known	74
Anne of Geierstein	26
Another Englishwoman's Love Letters	22
Another View of Industrialism	59
Another Wicked Woman	22
Anthony Jasper	11
Antiquary (The)	26
Appreciation of the Bible (The New)	80
Arabs (Literary History of the)	3
Arcady: for Better for Worse	51
Arden Massiter	10
Aristotle's Theory of Conduct	34
Armaments (The Burden of)	60
Army Reform	62
Art and Artists (On)	36
Artist's Letters from Japan	69
Artist Songs	6
Arts of Design (The)	37
As a Tree Falls	28
Ascent of Man (The)	74
As Others See Us	14
Aspirate (The)	78
Assisi (Golden Sayings of Giles of)	80
Assyria	54
Astronomy for Amateurs	75
Atrocities of Justice under British Rule	59
Augustus (Life and Times of)	55
Australia (The Real)	67
Australian Bushrangers (History of)	48
Australian Commonwealth (The)	58
Australian Girlhood (My)	43
Australian Sheep and Wool	69
Austria	58
Autumn Leaves	19
Avocat Patelin (L')	7
Awakening of a Race (The)	59
Baboo English	86
Bachelor in Arcady (A)	27
Bachelor Maid (A)	16
Baile's Strand (On)	7
Baldwin	33
Balfour's Pamphlet (A Reply)	61
Balfourism	60
Balkans (The)	53
Bamford's Passages	59
Barbara Cunliffe	27
Barbarian Invasions in Italy	58
Barbary Corsairs (The)	52
Bards of Gael and Gall	3
Battles and Leaders of the American Civil War	51
Beach and Bogland (By)	9
Beaconsfield (Lord)	38
Beauclerk (Lady Diana)	35
Beauty Adorned	18
Beckwourth (James P., Life and Adventures of)	46
Beetle (The)	21
Before I Forget	39
Begliojoso: A Revolutionary Princess	38
Behind the Arras (From)	13
Belcaro	33
Belle Marie (La)	19
Belle Nivernaise (La)	83
Bending of the Bough (The)	6
Benyowsky (Memoirs and Travels of)	46
Bergen Worth	20
Bernard (Claude)	38
Bernese Oberland (The)	67
Besant (Anne)	38
Betrothed (The)	26
Bible as English Literature (The)	78
Big Game Shooting in South Africa	68
Birdland (In)	76
Bird Life (British)	77
Bird Life in Wild Wales	77
Birds I Have Known	74
Bird Skinning and Bird Stuffing	75
Bird's Nest (The)	77
Bishop Doyle	40, 87
Black Dwarf	26
Black Mary	20
Black Shilling (The)	9
Blue Gown (In the Land of the)	70
Blue Lagoon (The)	27, 87
Blue Lilies	12
Bog of Stars (The)	22, 87
Bohemia	53
Bohemia with Du Maurier (In)	36
Bonaparte in Egypt	48
Bond of Blood (The)	15
Bossism and Monopoly	65
Bourgeois (The)	27
Boy and the Angel (The)	82
Bradlaugh (Charles)	38
Brahmans (The)	79
Brand	5
Breachly (Black Sheep)	10
Breakfast, Dinner, and Supper (Quickest Guide to)	82
Breitmann in Germany-Tyrol	19
Bride of Lammermoor (The)	26
Bright Days in Merrie England	69
Brightwen, Mrs. (Life and Thoughts)	38
Brightwen Series (The)	76
Britain (Early)	49
British Bird Life	77
British City (The)	62
British Columbia (Among the People of)	69
British Diplomacy (The Story of)	61
British East Africa	69
British History (Literary Influence in)	1
British India	50
British Industries under Free Trade	60
British Political Leaders	42
British Regiments (Famous)	50
British Writers on Classic Lands	1
Brodie (Sir Benjamin)	38
Brooke (Rajah)	38
Brown (Captain John)	38
Brown Owl (The)	83
Brown, V.C.	8, 85
Brownies in the Philippines	83
Buccaneers and Marooners of America (The)	46
Buchanan (Robert)	38
Budapest	72
Buddhist India	49
Builders of Greater Britain	38
Bulgarian Exarchate (The)	63
Bundle of Life (A)	17
Burden of Armaments (The)	60
Buried City of Kenfig	50
Burmese Language (Handbook of the)	78
Burton (The Real Sir Richard)	39
Bush Honeymoon (A)	8
Business of Life (The)	81
Butterfly (The)	76
Bygones Worth Remembering	41
Byron in Italy	70
Byzantine Empire (The)	54
Cabot (John and Sebastian)	39
Cameo Series (The)	3
Camera in the Fields (The)	76
Canada (Children's Study)	83
Canada (Story of the Nations)	48

	PAGE
Canada in Harvest Time (Through)	70
Canada To-day	69
Canadian Contingent (The)	85
Canal System of England	86
Canon in Residence(The)	32, 87
Cape Colony (Everyday Life)	68
Captain of the Locusts (The)	73
Captain Sheen	22
Capture of Paul Beck (The)	11
Cardinal's Pawn (The)	21
Carding Mill Valley	19
Carlyle (Thomas)	39
Carpathian to Pindus (From)	72
Carroll, Lewis (Life of)	39
Carroll Picture Book (The Lewis)	35
Carthage	49
Cartoons in Rhyme and Line	63
Case of Miss Elliott (The)	22
Case of Wagner (The)	34
Castle Dangerous	26
Cat and Bird Stories	76
Catharine Furze	25
Caucasus (Fire and Sword in the)	73
Cause and Effect	21
Cause of Discontents in India	64
Cause of IndustrialDepression	63
Cavalleria Rusticana	32
Cecilia's Lover	9
Celtic Twilight (The)	7
Century Cook-Book (The)	82
Century Invalid Cookery Book	81
Century Library (The)	12
Century Scott (The)	26
Certain Personal Matters	32
Chaldea	54
Charing Cross to Delhi(From)	69
Chats on Book-Plates	35
Chats on Costume	37
Chats on Earthenware	36
Chats on English China	36
Chats on Old Furniture	36
Chats on Old Lace	36
Chats on Old Miniatures	35
Chats on Old Prints	36
Chats on Oriental China	35
Chats Series (The)	35
Chaucer's Maytime (In)	25
Chelsea Window Gardening	81
Children of Endurance (The)	12
Children's Library (The)	82, 83
Children's Study (The)	83
Chile	72
Chillagoe Charlie	84
China (Story of the Nations)	49
China Cup (The)	83
China from Within	67
Chinaman (John) at Home	68
China under the Searchlight	67
China's Business Methods	62
Chinese History (A Sketch of)	54
Chinkie's Flat	10
Christ and the Nation	78
Christian Belief	78
Christian Democracy	78
Christian Origins	79
Christianity and the Bible	80
Christmas Berries	19
Churches and the Liquor Traffic (The)	59
Cinderella	13
City (The)	62
Civilisation (The History of)	55
Clara Hopgood	25
Clearer Vision (The)	21
Cliff Days	25
Climbers' Guides	67
Climber's Note Book (The)	73
Climbing in the Karakoram-Himalayas	67
Climbs in the Alps (My)	71
Climbs in New Zealand Alps	68
Climbs of Norman-Neruda	71
Clive (Lord)	39
Cobden and Jubilee of Free Trade	60
Cobden as a Citizen	39, 60
Cobden, Richard (Life of)	39
Cobden (The Political Writings of)	60
Cobden's Work and Opinions	66
Cogne (The Mountains of)	67
Coillard of the Zambesi	39
Colette	26
Colonise England (To)	62
Comedy of Three (A)	26
Coming of Friars (The)	51
Coming of Parliament (The)	51
Coming of Sonia (The)	27
Command of the Prince (By)	19
Commerce (American)	86
Commercial Travelling	86
Commissioner Kerr	41
Concerning Cats	4
Concerning Himself	32
Confessions of a Beachcomber	66
Confessions of a Caricaturist	36
Confessions of a Match-Making Mother	14
Congo (The)	68
Continental Outcast (The)	60
Convict Days (Old)	10
Co-operation (The History of)	62
Corner of Asia (A)	23
Cornish Whiddles	83
Corn Law Rhymes	61
Counsels of the Night (The)	12
Count Robert of Paris	26
Countess Kathleen (The)	7
Country of Horace and Virgil	66
Country Parson (Trials of a)	51
Courage	80
Court Beauties of Old Whitehall	58
Court Cards	12
Creek and Gully (By)	11
Cremer (The Life of W. Randall)	42
Crete (The Palaces of)	36
Cricket	86
Cricket on the Brain	13
Crimean Simpson's Autobiography	44
Criminal Appeal	65
Criminal Justice (Our)	61
Criminal Sociology	33
Criminology Series (The)	33
Crimson Azaleas (The)	27
Cromwell and His Times	39
Crowd (The)	33
Cruise of the *Wild Duck* (The)	14
Crusades (The)	47
Crystal Age (A)	18
Cuba and International Relations	60
Cuba and Porto Rica	69
Cults of India	79
Curiosities	22
Curzon (Lord). The Failure of	61
Cut off from the World	11
Daughter of Patricians (A)	26
Daughter of the Fen (A)	10
Dauphiny (The Central Alps of the)	67
Dauphiny (Maps of the)	67
David the King	49
Davidson (Memorials of Thomas)	39
Davis (Thomas) A Short Life of	39, 87
Davitt (Michael)	40
Dawn of Day (The)	34
Dawn of the 19th Century in England (The)	47
Days Spent on a Doge'sFarm	72
Dazzling Miss Davison (The)	32
Dazzling Reprobate (A)	28
Death, The Showman	15
Deeps of Deliverance (The)	14
Deidre	7
Democracy and Reaction	62
Derwent (Sir Frederick)	19
Desert Ways to Baghdad(By)	69
Desmonde, M.D.	15
Destroyer (The)	27
Development of Christianity	79
Development of Western Civilization	50
Devil's Half Acre (The)	8
Devonshire House (The Story of a)	39, 49
Diana's Hunting	11
Diary of a Dreamer	14
Diplomatic Relations of the U.S.A. and Spanish America	52
Disciple (The)	11
Discourse of Matters (A)	79
Discovery of the Future (The)	34
Disdainful Maiden (The)	83
Disestablishment in France	64
Divine Presence (The)	79
Divorce	11
Doctor (The)	27
Doctor Gordon	32
Dog Book (The)	75
Dog Stories	76
Don Quichote	12, 37
Double Choice (A)	9
Double Marriage (A)	12
Doubt and Faith	78
Drama of Sunshine (A)	25
Dramatic Traditions of the Dark Ages	7
Dream and the Business (The)	17
Dream Life and Real Life	26
Dream Woman	32
Dreams	26
Driven	32
Dutch and Flemish Masters (Old)	35
Dutch Towns (Old)	37
Dwarf-land and Cannibal Country (In)	70
Dyer, John (Works of)	87
Earl's Cedars	19
Early Mountaineers (The)	68
East Africa (British)	69
East Africa (Sport and Travel)	69
Eastern Asia (A Brief History of)	50
Ebbing of the Tide (The)	10
Eben Holden	9
Economic and Statistical Studies	61
Economic Interpretation of History	64
Editor's Sermons (An)	34
Education (Trend in Higher)	78
Edward Barry	10
Effie Hetherington	11
Egypt (Ancient)	53, 55
Egypt (Bonaparte in)	48
Egypt (The New)	66
Egypt (New Light on Ancient)	53
Egypt (Secret History of the English Occupation of)	48
Eighteenth Century Painter (Memorials of an)	36

	PAGE
Literary History of Ireland (A)	2
Literary History of Persia (A).	1
Literature History of Rome.	1
Literary History of Russia..	1
Literary History of Scotland	2
Literary History of the Adelphi (The).....	48
Literary History of the Arabs	3
Literary History of the English People (A)	2
Literary Influence in British History	1
Literary Life (My) (Mme. Adam)	38
Literary "U" Pen (The)....	87
Lithography and Lithographers	36
Little Entertainments.....	22
Little Glass Man (The).....	83
Little Indabas	70
Little Novels	20
Lives Worth Living Series (The)	42
Living Buddha (The).....	18
Living Matter (Nature and Origin of).....	74
Liza of Lambeth.....	21
Locum Tenens (The)	32
Log of a Jack Tar (The) (James Choyce)	46
Lombard Communes (The)..	48
Lombard Studies	48
London at School.....	80
London (The Governance of)	50
London Lovers	9
London Plane Tree (A)	5
Lonely Way (The)	3
Long Vigil (The)	27
Lord Maskelyne's Daughter	19
Lost Heir (The) 16,	85
Lost Land (The)	14
Love Affairs of Some Famous Men	41
Love and the Soul Hunters...	17
Love Cure (A)	28
Love is not so Light.....	13
Love in the Lists.....	21
Love Letters of Margaret Fuller.....	40
Love Songs of Ireland	7
Love Songs of Robert Burns..	3
Love Triumphant 21,	85
Lucas Malet Birthday Book..	32
Lucie and I.....	13
Luncheons	82
Lyrics (M. F. Robinson)	6
M.A.B.	87
Mabinogion (The)..... 20,	87
Mabinogion (Tales from the)..	83
Machiavelli, Niccolo (Life of)	42
Madagascar (Robert Drury)..	46
Madagascar before the Conquest	72
Mademoiselle Ixe	14
Mad Sir Uchtred.....	13
Magic Oak Tree (The)	83
Magic of the Pine Woods.....	19
Maid of Maiden-lane (The)....	9
Maitland (Sir Thomas).....	42
Major Weir	21
Makar's Dream.....	19
Making of a Saint (The).....	21
Man and Maid	22
Man-Eaters (Among the).....	68
Man in the Street (The)	12
Man's Love (A)	27
Man's Mind (In a).....	32
Man who was Afraid (The)...	15
Manners for Girls	81
Manners makyth Men	81
Manors of Suffolk (The)	49
Maps of the Alps of the Dauphiny	67
Margaret Foster	26
Margaret Grey	9
Margaret Hetherton	85
Marguerite de Roberval	21
Mariana	4
Marionettes (The).....	6
Marozia	16
Marriage by Capture (A)	11
Marriage de Convenance (A)..	18
Marsena	15
Master Mariner, A: Eastwick	46
Master Missionaries	41
Master Passions	16
Masters of Medicine	42
Match-Making Mother (The Confessions of)	14
Mating of a Dove (The).....	20
Matrimonial Institutions (A History of)	51
Matterhorn (The)	71
Mawkin of the Flow (The)....	16
Meadowsweet and Rue	17
Me and Myn	13
Media, Babylon, and Persia ..	55
Melpomene Papers (The)	15
Memoirs of Charles Boner (The)	19
Memoirs of Constantine Dix	22
Memoirs of Dr. Thomas Evans	40
Mental Traits of Sex (The) ..	76
Meredith (Novels of George).	1
Mermaid Series (The)	5
Messianic Hope (The)	79
Mexico	50
Mexico (S. A. Series).....	68
Mid Pleasures and Palaces..	19
Mimi's Marriage.....	21
Millionaire (The)	28
Millionaire's Courtship (A)..	20
Milly and Olly	85
Minister's Experience (A) ..	79
Minister's Guest (The).....	26
Minor Poet (A)	5
Mirabeau the Demi-God..44,	58
Miréio	6
Miriam's Schooling	25
Mischief of a Glove (The)	13
Miserrima	22
Mis-rule of Three (The)	28
Missing Friends.....	46
Mister Bill: A Man.....	20
Mistress of Langdale Hall.19,	85
Model Factories	63
Modernism	80
Modern Monarch (A)	20
Modern Travel Series (The).	70
Moff	28
Moffat, Robert and Mary (Lives of)	42
Molly Darling	18
Monarch Series (The)	53
Monarchs of Merry England (The)	48
Monastery (The)	26
Monism (Concepts of)	80
Monsieur Paulot.....	18
Mont Blanc (The Chain of) ...	67
Moonlight	20
Moor and Fell (By) 27,	72
Moors, Crags of the High Peak	66
Moors in Spain (The)	52
More about Wild Nature.....	74
Mother, Baby, and Nursery..	82
Mother Goose (The True)	84
Motherhood	28
Mother of Pauline (The)....	28
Motor Car (The)	85
Motor Cars	86
Motor Cracksman (The).....	12
Motorists' A B C	85
Mountain Adventure (True Tales of)	69
Mountaineers (Early)	68
Mountaineering in the Land of the Midnight Sun	70
Mountaineering in the Sierra Nevada	69
Municipal Government in Continental Europe	65
Municipal Government in Great Britain	65
Municipal Lessons from S. Germany.....	63
Musical Composers (Famous).	42
Mutineer (The)	11
My Home in the Shires	19
My Lady's Garden (In)	76
Myra of the Pines	32
Mysterious Psychic Forces ..	75
Mystery of Laughlin Islands	11
Mystery of Muncraig (The)...	22
Mystery of Sleep (The)	33
Mystery of the Campagna (A).	14
Mystics, Ascetics and Saints of India (The).....	79
Nancy Noon	27
Naomi's Exodus.....	21
Napoleon's Court (A Queen of)	47
Napoleon's Last Voyages ..	42
Natal (Tales from)	73
National Cook Book	81
National Credit.....	62
National Finance	59
National Finance, 1908	50
National Liberal Federation (The)	66
Native Wife (His)	10
Naturalist (Life and Thoughts of a)	38
Naturalist (Recreations of a)	75
Naturalist (Travels of a).....	75
Nature and Origin of Living Matter	74
Nature and Purpose in the Universe.....	76
Nature Studies	76
Nature's Story of the Year ...	77
Near East (Travels and Politics in the)	70
Need and Use of Irish Literature.....	33
Ne'er-do-Weel (A)	12
Negro-Nobodies	70
Neighbours	14
Nero, and other Plays.....	6
New Arcadia (The)	6
New Chronicles of Don Q...	23
New Egypt (The)	66
New England Cactus (A).....	18
New Guinea (Through)	73
Newspaper Making (The Art of)	85
New Spirit of the Nation (The)..... 34,	87
New Zealand Alps (Climbs in the)	68
Nietzsche: His Life and Work	34
Nietzsche (The Philosophy of Friedrich)	34
Nine Unlikely Tales.....	84
Noble Haul (A)	25
No Place for Repentance	22
Norfolk and Suffolk Coast (The)	68
Norman-Neruda (The Climbs of)	71
Normans (The)	51

	PAGE
Norway	48
Nun-Ensign (The)	37
Nutcracker and Mouse King	83
Nyria	23
Of Una	6
Old Bailey	50
Old Brown's Cottages	27
Old Hall (The)	19
Old Man's Darling (An)	12
Old Mortality	26
Old Tales from Greece	83
Old Tales from Rome	85
Old Time Aldwych	50
Old Time and New	44
Olive in Italy	14
Omnibus, De	22, 87
Once Upon a Time	83
O'Neill, Owen Roe	43, 87
Only a Kitten	84
Opportunity of Liberalism	65
Oriental Campaigns and European Furloughs	42
Orientations	21
Original Poem of Job (The)	78
Ottilie	19
Outcast of the Islands (An)	13
Outcasts (The)	15
Outlaws of the Marches	16
Overseas Library (The)	74
Pacific Tales	10
Pagan's Love (A)	13
Pages from a Journal	25
Pain: Its Causation	76
Painter's Honeymoon (A)	26
Palaces of Crete (The)	36
Panama Canal To-day (The)	67
Papacy (The)	78
Papal Monarchy (The)	47
Paradise Court	15
Paris (Forty Years of)	52
Parish Providence (A)	20, 87
Paris-Parisien	71
Parker, Dr., and his Friends	43
Parnell Movement (The)	54
Parthia	55
Particular Book of Trinity College (The)	53
Party Organisation	63
Passion of Mahael (The)	11
Passports	8
Pathless West (In the)	69
Patriot Parliament of 1689 (The)	49, 87
Patriotism under three Flags	63
Patsy	27
Patten Experiment (The)	20
Pax and Carolina	82, 83
Peculiar History of Mary Ann Susan (The)	11
Peers or People	65
Peking Garden (Round About My)	70
Penelope Brandling	19
Pennine Alps (Central)	67
Pennine Alps (Eastern)	67
Pen Portraits of the British Soldier	16
Pentamerone (The)	82
People of Clopton	10
Peoples and Politics in the Far East	71
Perceval (Spencer)	00
Peril of Change (In)	34
Peril in Natal (The)	61
Perils of Josephine (The)	16
Perils of Sympathy (The)	27
Persia	47
Persia (Literary History of)	1
Personal Matters (Certain)	32
Personal Story of the Upper House, (The)	45
Peru	68
Peter Halket (Trooper)	26
Peveril of the Peak	26
Philippine Islands (The)	68
Phœnix and the Carpet (The)	84
Philosopher in Portugal	72
Phœnicia	55
Physiology (Studies in General)	75
Pillage (Before the Great)	51
Pinto, Ferd. Mendez, the Portuguese Adventurer	46
Pirate (The)	26
Place of Animals in Human Thought	34
Plant Histology (Methods in)	75
Plato's Dream of Wheels	34
Play-Actress (The)	13
Plays of Beaumont, &c., see Index of Authors	
Please M'm, the Butcher!	81
Poems of Mathilde Blind (A Selection from)	3
Poems of Mathilde Blind (The complete)	3
Poems of Giosnè Carducci	4
Poems of William Cowper (The Unpublished)	4
Poems of John Dyer (The)	4
Poems of M. F. Robinson (The Collected)	6
Poems (W. B. Yeats)	7
Poet and Penelope (The)	28
Poland	54
Policy of Free Imports (The)	61
Political Advertiser (The)	61
Political Crime	34
Political Parables	60
Political Situation (The)	65
Pope of Holland House (The)	43
Pope's Mule (The)	82
Popular Copyright Novels	23
Port Arthur (Siege of)	51
Portent (The)	20
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Portraits of the Sixties	42
Portugal	55
Portugal (A Philosopher in)	72
Power of Charactor (The)	78
Prayers, Poems and Parables	79
Prince's Marriage (The)	32
Prisoners of Conscience	9, 85
Prison Escapes of the Civil War	46
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Problem of Prejudice (The)	12
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Public Purse and the War Office	59
Public Speaking and Debate	62, 86
Queen of a Day (The)	15
Queen of Napoleon's Court (A)	47
Quentin Durward	26
Quests of Paul Beck (The)	11
Quiet Hours with Nature	74
Quincy Adams Sawyer	22
Quotations for Occasions	82
Raffles (Sir Stamford)	43
Raiders (The)	13
Rainy June (A)	22
Raleigh (Sir Walter)	4, 43
Ranch Life and the Hunting Trail	72
Random Roaming	51
Ranger's Lodge (The)	19
Recipes for the Million	82
Recreations of a Naturalist	75
Red Cloth Library (The)	30
Redgauntlet	26
Red Laugh	8
Red-litten Windows (Through the)	16
Red Rubber	63
Red Sphinx (The)	32
Red Star (The)	20
Reef and Palm (By)	10
Reformer's Bookshelf (The)	64
Religion and the Higher Life	78
Religion and Historic Faiths	79
Religion of the Plain Man	77
Religious Songs of Connacht	5, 78
Religious Equality (The Last Step to)	77
Renaissance Types	52
Renunciation	27
Retaliatory Duties	61
Retrospect	6
Revelation and the Bible	78
Revolution in Tanner's Lane	25
Rhodesia (Pre-Historic)	68
Rhymer (The)	20
Ricroft of Withens	27
Ridan the Devil	10
Riding, Driving, and kindred Sports	86
Rights of Man in America	79
Riviera (Rambles on the)	72
Riviera (The)	70
Robert Orange	17
Robinson Crusoe	82, 83
Rob Roy	26
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Rock Garden of Ours (That)	75
Rodin (Life and Work of Auguste)	36
Rodman the Boatsteerer	10
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Romance of a Hill Station	19
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Romance of a Lonely Woman	22
Romance of a Midshipman	25
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Roman Life under the Cæsars	58
Rome (Children's Study)	83
Rome (Story of the Nations)	50
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Rome (Mediæval)	53
Rome (Old Tales from)	59, 85
Romola	68
Rose Geranium (The)	12
Rose, Shamrock and Thistle	19
Rosemonde	27
Rossetti (Dante Gabriel) (Letters of)	43
Rousing of Mrs. Potter (The)	22
Royal Quartette (A)	47
Royal Rascal (A)	16
Rus Divinum	3
Russia	54

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